## RALEIGH REGISTER, AND NORTH-CARJLINA GAZETTE.

fitself, therefore, is as conclusive as what it pages: But it declares itself a Constitution. belonging to the other side of the Atlantic. No of the old Congress, July, 1785. B hat is a Constitution ? Certainly not a league, such thing is known in North-America. Our But, sir, let us go to the actual formation of ment was proposed, to be founded in the name the body itself, and the very being of the politi. People. They, alone, are sovereign ; and they Judiciary, and Executive." Bu do we need to be informed, in this country, fore, that, we only perplex ourselves when we i sovereign States. what a Constitution is ? Is it not an idea, per- attempt to explain the relations existing between Constitution of one of the States ; and the Con- reignty, which prevail under systems essentially s.i ution of the United States speaks of itself as different from our own. thing in any State Constitution to the contrary continuance and support. Thear it often sugno walkstanding. And it speaks of itself too, in gested that the States, by refusing to appoint plain contradistication from a confederation ; for Senators and Electors, might bring this Governit says that all debts contracted and all engage- ment to an end. Perlaps that is true, but the ments entered into by the United States, shall same may be said of the Stat. Governments be is valid und r this Constitution, as under the themselves. Suppose the Legislature of a State, confederation. It does not say as valid under this having the power to appoint the Governor and compact, or this league, or this contederation, as Judges, should onat that duty ; would no the moset the former confederation, but as volid un- State Government remain unorgan zed ? No

der this Constitution. This, then, so, is declared to be a constitution. up by a general aba doom ni, on the part of thes-A constitution is the fundamental i.w of the entrusted with political powers, of their appro-

S a.e; and this is expressly decl red to be the priate duties. But one popular & vernment has, supreme law, It is as if the people had said, in this respect, as much security as another .-"we prescribe this tondamental law," or "this The main enance of this constitution does not supr. me law," for they do say that they estab. depend on the plighted faith of the States, as Lish this constitution, and virit it shall be the su- States, to support it ; and this as an shows that I re we law. They say that they ordain and cs. it is not a league. It relies on individual duty ladish it. Now, su, what is the comprom sp-

n facts for the sake of hypothesis !

pincy ion of these words? We do not speak of The Constitution of the United States creates ordaining lesgues and compacts. If this was in- direct relations between this Government and debated, and the committee reported, " That tended to be a compact or league, and the individuais. This Government may punish indi-Sites to be patters to i, why was it not so said ? viduals for treason, and all other climes in the mat the resolutions formerly reported. If, sir, any Why is there lound no one expression in the code, when committed against the United States. whole instrument indicating such intent? The It has power, also, to t x monvidual, in any ble, it is, that the Convention deliberated on the o d confederation was expressly called a league; mode, and to any extent; and it poss sees the expediency of continuing the confederation, with and into this league it was expressly declared further power of demanding from individuas that the States, as States, severally entered. - Inniitary service. Nothing, certainly, c n more Why was not similar longuage used in the con-statution, if a similar intention had existed ?- deration of States, than the possession of these Why was it not shid, "the States enter into this powers. No closer relations can exist between individuals and any Government. In w reastle,""" the St tes form this new conto continue the existin. compact between States; On the other hand, the Government owes fetteration," or "the States agree to this new hey rejected it. They rejected compact, league. high and solemn duties to every citizen of the compact?" Or, why was it not said in the lanand confederation ; and set themselves about fraguage of the gentleman's resolution, that the country. It is bound to protect him in his most people of the several States acceded to this com- important rights and interests. It makes war bing the constitution of a National Government, and they accomplished what they undertook. pact in their sovereign capacities ? What rea- for his protection, and no other Government in If men will open their eyes fairly to the lights son is there for supposing that the framers of the country can make war. It makes place for the constitution rejected expressions appropri- this protection, and no other Gov rement can ste to their own meaning, and adopted others make peace. It maintains armies and navies to his defence and security, and no other Govern wholly at war with that meaning ? Again, sir, the constitution speaks of that po- ment is allowed to maintain them. He goes litical system which it established as the "Gov | broad beneath its flag, and carries over all the declined complianc , as they did, there was no erament of the United States." Is it not doing | certin a national character imparted to him by remedy but war against such delinquent States. strange violence to language to call a league or this Government, and which no other Gov it It would seem, from Mr. Jefferson's corresponda compact between sovereign powers a Govern- ment can impart. In whatever relates to with ence, in 1786 and 1787, that he was of opinion ment 2 The Government of a State is that or- peace, to commerce, he knows no other Govthat even this remedy ought to be tried. "There gan Action in which the political power resides. Fernment. All these, sir, are connexions as dear will be no money in the Treasury," said he, "till It is the political heing, created by the consti- and is sacred as can bin t individuals to any Go the confederacy shows its teeth ;" and he sugtot on or fundamental law. The broad and veriment on earth. It is not, therefore, a comclear difference between a Government and al pact between states, but a Government proper. gests that a single frigate would soon levy, or the commerce of a delinquent State, the deficileague, or compact, is, that a Government is a operating directly upon individuals, yielding to body police; it has a will of its own; and it them protection on one hand, and demanding ency of its contribution. But this would be war; and it was evident that a confederacy could not preserves powers and faculars to execute its from them obedience on the other. There is no language in the whole constituti- long hold together, which should be at war with own purposes. Every campact looks to some its members., The constitution was adopted to power to enforce its stipulations. Even on, applicable to a couled-ration of States. It is a compart between sovereign communi- the States be parties, as States, what are their avoid this necessity. It was adopted, that there s, there always exist, this uitim de reference rights, and what their respective covenants and might be a government which should act directly a power to ensure its execution ; although, stipulations ? And where are their rights, cove- on individuals, without borrowing aid from the in sich case, this power is but the force of one nabis, and stipulations expressed ? The States State Governments. This is clear as Fight itself party against the force of another-that is to engage for nothing, they promise nothing. In on the very face of the provisions of the Constis is the power of war. But a Government exe- the articles of confederation they did make pro- tution, and its whole history tends to the same rules its decisions by its own supreme authority. mises, and did enter into engagements, ind did conclusion. Its framers gave this very reason for Its use of force in compositing obedience to its own plight the faith of each State for the r fulfilment; their work in the most distinct terms. Allow me enactments, is not war. It contemplates no op. but, in the constitution there is nothing of that to quote but one or two proofs, out of hundreds. oung party having a right of resistance. It kind. The reason is, that, in the constitution That State, so small in territory, but so distinrests on us own power to enforce its own will ; it is the People who speak, and not the States. guished for learning and talent, Connecticut, had and when it ceases to possess this power it is no ; The People ordain the Constitution, and there- sent to the general Convention, among other in address themselves to the States, and to the members, Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth. longer a Government. Mr. President, I concur so generally in the Legislatures of the States, in the language of The constitution having been framed, it was sub, very the speech of the gentleman from Wir- injunction and prohibition. The constitution mitted to a convention of the people of Connecgives, near me, [Mr. Roves,] that it is not with- utters its behests in the name and by the auth - | ticut for ratification on the part of that State, and out of fidence and regret that I venture to dif- rity of the People, and it exacts not from States Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ellsworth were also memfer with him on any point. His opinions, sir, any plighted puble faith to maintain t. On the bers of this convention. On the first day of the re redelent of the doctrines of a very distin- contrary, it makes its own preservation depend debates, being called on to explain the reasons guished school, for which I have the highest re- on individual duty and individual obligation .- which led the Convention at Philadelphia to regard, of whose doctrines I can say, what I also Sir, the States cannot omit to appoint Senators | commend such a Constitution, after showing the can'say of the gentleman's speech, that, while and Electors. It is not a matter resting in State insufficiency of the existing confederacy, inas-I concur in the results, I must be permitted to discretion or State pleasure. The constitution much as it applied to States, as States, Mr. Johnhesitate about some of the premises. I do not has taken better care of its own preservation. It son proceeded to sayagree that the const tution is a compact between | lays its hand on individual conscience, and indi- \_\_\_ " The Convention saw this imperfection in at-SLites in their sovereign capacities. I do not vidual duty. It incapacitates any man to sit in tempting to legislate for States in their political, of powers, between two governments, made by the Legislature of a State, who shall not first have capacity ; that the coercion of law can be exer- the people, to whic both are responsible. Nei agree that, in strictness of language, it is a coinpact at alle But I do agres, that it is founded on taken a solemn oath to support the constitution consent or agreeme d; or on compact, if the gen- of the United States. From the obligation . therefore, gone upon entirely new ground. They tienan prefers that word, and means no more this oath no State power can discharg him. All have formed one new Nation out of the individuby it than voluntary consent or agreement - the members of all the State L. gislatures are as al States. The Constitution vests in the General The constitution, sir, is not a contract, but the religiously bound to support the constitution of Legislature a power to make laws in matters of result of a contract ; meaning, by contract, no ; the United States, as they are to support their national concern; to appoint judges to decide more than assent Founded on consent, it is a lown State constitution. Nay, sir, they are as upon these laws, and to appoint officers to carry G veriment proper. Adopted by the agree- solemaly sworn to support it as we cursclves them into execution. This excludes the idea of ment of the people of the United States, when are, who are members of Congress. an armed force. The power which is to enforce States. This const ution is established by the adopted, it has become a constitution. The No member of a State Legislature can refuse to these laws, is to be a legal power, vested in propeople have agreed to make a constitution ; proceed, at a proper time, to elect Senators to per magistrates. The fore: which is to be embut when made, that constitution becomes what | Congress, or to provide for the choice of electors ployed, is the energy of law; and this force is to people have done i How can she absolve her ciits name imports. It is no longer a mere agree- of President and Vice-President, any more than operate only upon individuals, who fail in their tizens from their ob science to the laws of the Ument. Our laws, sir, have their foundation in [ the members of this Senate can refuse, when the duty to their country. This is the pec-fliar glory the screencest or consend of the two Houses of appointed day arrives, to meet the memoers of the of the Constitution, that it depends upon the mild Congress. We say, hab thaily, that one House other House to count the votes for those officers, & and equal energy of the magistracy for the exeproposes a bill and the other agrees to it; but ascertain who are chosen. In both cases the dury cution of the laws." he result of this agreement is not a compact, binds,& with equal strength, the conscience of the but haw. The law. the statute, is not the spree- individual member, and it is imposed on all by an In the facther course of the debate, Mr. Elis- right to be proclaiged in the midst of civil com. local taxation of the country, to which it was only within a few years that an inmeet, but something created by the agreement ; oath in the same words. Let it, then, never be worth saidand something which, when created, has a new said, sir, that it is a matter of discretion with the character, and acts by its own authority. So, States, whether they will continue the Govern- that the majority govern, and that the mino the constitution of the United States, founded | ment, or break it up by refusing to appoint Sen- rity comply with the general voice. How conn or on the corsent of the people, may be said ators and to elect Electors. They have no dis- traty, then, to republican principles, how huto rest on compact, or consent ; but it is itself cretion in the matter. The members of their Le- miliating, is our present situation ! A single not the compace, but is result . When a people gislatures cannot avoid doing either, so often as State can rise up and put a veto upon the agree to erect a government, and actually erect their mearrives, without a direct violation of their most important public measures. We have seen i', the thing is done, and the agreement is at an duty and their oaths ; such a violation as would this actually take place : a single State has end. The compact is executed, and the end break up any other Government. controlled the general voice of the Umon : a designed by it attained. Henceforth, the fruit | Looking still further to the provisions of the minority, a very small minority has governed of the agreement exists, but the agreement it Constitution itself, in order to learn its true cha- us. So far is this from being consistent with self is therged in its own accomplishment ; since racter, we find its great apparent purpose to be, republican principles, that it is in effect the there can be no longer a subsisting agreement, to unite the people of all the States under one worst species of monarchy. or compact, to Jorm a constitution or govern- General Government, for certain definite objects, "Hence we see how necessary for the Union ment, after that constitution or government has and, to the extent of this union, to restrain the is a coercive principle. No man pretends been actually formed and established. separate authority of the States. Congress only the contrary. We all see and feet this necessity. It appears to me, Mr. President, that the can declare war-therefore, when one State is at The only question is, shall it be a coercion of plainest a count of the establishment of this Go- war with a foreign nation, all must be at war - law, or a coercion of arms? there is no other posvernment presents the most just and philosophie. The President and the Senate only can make sible alternative. Where will those who opposcal view of its foundation. The People of the peace ; when peace is made for one State, there- a coerc on of law come out ? Where will they end? several States had their separate State Govern- fore, it must be made for all. n.cots; and between the States there also exist- Can any thing be conceived more preposter- war of the States one against another. I am for war of the States one against another. I am for ed a contrederation. With this condition of ous, than that any State should have power to coercion by law: that coercion which acts only things the People were not satisfied, as the con- mullify the proceedings of the General Govern- upon delinquent individuals. This Constitution federation had been found not to fulfil its intended ment, respecting peace and war? When war is does not attemnt to coerce sovereign bodies, objects. It was proposed, therefore, to crect a new declared by a law of Congress, can a single State states in their political capacity. N coercing come of Government, which should p sess cr- multify that kaw, and remain at peace? And yet is applie the such bodies but that of an a med tand fait powers, so chas regarded th : r spe - she may nallify that haw as well as any other. If force. If we should a tempt to execute the laws a ment : ity of the People of all the States; & tome form.

the people in the several States. tution. They executed that agreement, they of argument, no subtlety of distinction, can evade the laws of the Union? it was inoperative paper. It had adopted the constitution, as a constitution, and it, that, as to certain purposes, the people of it was monetative paper. It had stand as a constitution, and as a constitution until the united States are one people. They are one in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states are one people in making war, and one in making peace ; they in the conventions, to the united states are one in regulating commerce, and one in lay-their respective Conventions, then it not this the truth of the whole matter is and is not this the truth of the whole matter is and is not all that we have heard of compact between in gluties of impost. The very end and purpose induction and in the truth of the whole matter is and is are one in regulating commerce. They are one in the united states are one people in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states one is the united states are one people in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states are one people in the united states are one in the united states are one people in the united states are one people in the united states are one people. They are one in the united states are one people in the united states are one united states are one in the u it had then received the sanction of the sovereign States the mere effect of a theoretical of the constitution was to make them one people mar will, and was to be received as the ex- and artificial mode of reasoning upon the sub- in these particulars ; and it has effectually accomession of that will. What the Constitution says ject ? a mode of reasoning which disregards plished its object. All this is apparent on the face of the constitution itself. I have already were dissatisfied ; but, Hadmitted that the thing

compact? Certainly not. I uses the word com- severeign power, has been extensively discussed tion over the people, especially in regard to im- ductions and publications, did any one intimate pact but once, and that is when it declares that by gentlemen on this occasion, as it generally is, posts, was always prominent as a reason for get- that the new constitut on was but another comthe State shall enter into no compact. Does it when the origin of our Government is debated. ting rid of the confederation, and forming a new pact between States in their sovereign capacities. call itself a league, a confederacy, a subsisting But I confess myself not entirely satisfied with constitution. Among innumerable proofs of this, I do not find such an o jinion advanced in a single "cary between the States? Certainly not.- arguments and illustrations drawn from that to- before the assembling of the convention, allow instance. Everywhere the people were told that There is not a particle of such language in all its pic. The sovereignty of Government is an idea me to refer only to the Report of the Committee the old confederation was to be abandoned, and

a compact, or confederacy, but a fundamental Governments are ell limited. In Europe sove- the Constitution, let us open the journal of the people; and to have a regular organization a compact, or confederacy, out a junamental regulation which deter- reignty is of feudal origin, and imports no more Convention itself, and we shall see that the very of its own. Every where, the people were told ests of 'my dominions are so intimately cessation of hostilities, with a view to nones the manner in which the public authority than the state of the sovereign. It comprises first Resolution which the Convention adopted that it was to be a Government with direct powis to be executed, is what forms the Constitution his rights, duties, exemptions, prerogatives, and was, . That a national Government ought to be ers to make laws over individuals, and to lay of a State Those primary rules which conc. rn powers. But, with us, all power is with the established, consisting of a Supreme Legislature, taxes and imposts without the consent of the

in a word, which form together the Constitution these Governments is sovereign, in the Euro- could not be chosen, more fit fo express an in- foundation as the Stat constitutions themselves. of a Stale, these are the fundamental laws - pean sense or the word, all being restrained by tention to establish a National Government, and its most distiguished Edvocates, who had been The, sir, is the language of the public writers. | written constitutions. It seems to me, there to banish forever all notion of a conflict between themselves members of the convention, declared

ted ly familiar, definite and well settled? We the General Government and the s veral State Afterwards, the style was altered, and, instead being an instrument of the same nature. It says thes Constitution shall be the law of the land, any let me inquire what it relies upon for its own which was afterwards sent to the committee who and was at the head of that list of resolutions doctrine itself h-s hat respectable advocates .were to frame the instrument.

It is true, there were gentlemen in the Convention who were for retaining the confederation, and amending its articles ; but the majority was against this, and was for a National Government. Mr. Patterson's propositions, which were for continuing the articles of confederation with additional powers, were submitted to the Convention on the 15th of June, and referred to the commitcoupt, all elective Governments may be broken tee of the whole. And the resolutions forming the basis of a National Government, which had once been agreed to in the committee of the whole, and reported, were recommitted, to the same committee, on the same day. The Convention, then, in committee of the whole, on the 19th of June, had both these plans before them; that is to say, the plan of a confederacy, or compact between States, and the plan of a National Government. Both these plans were considered and honorable Mr Patterson, but that they again sub historical fact in the world be plain and undenia- the whole people of the United States !! som amendments, and rejected that scheme, and pact between States. Those of Massichusetts revision of these establishments, and I readopted the plan of a National Government, with and New-Hampshire xpress the transaction, in 1y on your wisdom for making such proa Legislature, an Executive, and a Judiciary of my opinion, with sufficient accuracy. They its own. They were asked to preserve the league; | recognise the Divine goodness " in affording they rejected the proposition. They were asked the people of the Unit. I states an oportunity of of history, it is impossible to be deceived on this form of expression, mant merely to say, the under the confederation, Congress had power on- of est oblishing a new Ansistution, founded in the ly to make requisitions on States ; and if States | concent of the people. This consent of the people

was like a deed drawn but not ed upon the general model of American consti- the President and Senate make peace, may one of the Union, by sendir, fan armed force against a e Convention had framed it, sent tutions. This proposal was assented to, and an then sitting under the Confeder-then sitting under the Confeder-instrument was presented to the People of the several States for their consideration. They willify a treaty. Ind by these last it was laid before approved it and agreed to adopt it as a consti-and by these last it was laid before approved it and agreed to adopt it as a consti-

Indeed, sir, if we lool to all cotemporary history

form-d'a constitution f. 9 a National Goverment. With this result, some were satisfied, and some Mr. President, the nature of sovereignty, or said, sir, that to obtain a power of direct legisla- had been done. In gone of these various pro a new system to be tried ; that a proper Govern-

col society, the form of G vernment and the erect what Governments they please, and confer in This itself completely negatives all idea of popular constitution. It came to the people for manner in which power is to be exercised—al, on them such powers as they please. None of league, and compact, and confederation. Terms their adoption, and was to rest on the same deep that the very object of submitting the constitu-The resolution was adopted on the 30th of May. tion to the people was to preciude the possibility fterwards, the style was altered, and, instead of its being regarded the mere complust. "Howare at no loss to understand what is meant by the Governments, according to those ideas of sove-Constitution of one of the States; and the Con-reignty, which prevail under systems essentially called the Government of the United States: F. deralist, "it may be to maintain that a party to still refusing to evacuate the rest of the but the substance of this resolution was retained, | a compact has a right to revoke that compact, the The possibility of a quittion of this n ture proves the necessity of laying the foundations of our National Goverment deeper than in the mere sancion of delegated auth rity. The tabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people." Such is the languige, sir, addressed o People, while they yet have uniformly been, with the single view powers conferred on the new Government were perfectly well unders and to be conferred, not by any State, for the leople of any State, but by the people of the United States. Virginia is more explicit, perh his, in this particular, than any other State. Her convention assembled to rabily the constitution st in the name and behalf of the people of Viennia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the con-scitution being derivers from the people of the Uni-ted States may be see med by them whenever the same shall be perjected to their injury or

> of a complet lietween States, or language discrihas g the grant of power's to a new Government, by

" My Lords and Gentlemen :

.. The period being now arrived ties with which you are entrusted. Never at any time did subjects of greater in-

.. I have still to lament the continuance lence has risen to the most fearful height abstained from all interference, except such as was required for the protection of British subjects resident in Portugal; been taken off, and it was said would to but you may be assured that I shall not be while affairs with that country reman fail to avail myself of an opportunity that | ed unsettled.

peace to a country with which the inter- bability of Ibrahim Pacha assenting to

" I have also to regret that my earnest between the Sultan and his insurger endeavors to effect a definitive arrangement between Holland and Belgium, have Accounts from Constantinople to Janua hitherto been unsuccessful. I found my- ry 6th state, that the Sultan, in the extre self, at length, compelled, in conjunction | mity of his distress, had accepted the of with the King of the French, to take mea- | fer of assistance made by the Emperor , sures for the execution of the Treaty of Russia, and that a Russian officer set. the 15th Nov. 1851. The capture of the for Egypt, to demand the submission , citadel of Antwerphas in part accomplish- the Viceroy to the Sublime Porte, still refusing to evacuate the rest of the territories assigned to Belgium by that tinue to be prosecuted with undiminist Treaty, the embargo which I had direct- ed energy, and some of the ships of wa ed to be imposed on the Dutch commerce were already in a condition to put to set has been continued. Negotiations are again commenced; and you may rely on their being conducted on my part, as they restored to the same footing as that upa ad the constitution hader consideration. The of ensuring to Holland and Belgium a se- try into Belgium. parate existence, on principles of mutual

security and independence. the French Government has acred in these | fectually put down, and that Don Carlo transactions; and the assurances which I (the King's brother) was under arrest i continue to receive from the chief Pow- his own apartments. ers of Europe of their friendly disposition, give me confidence in the success of my volution is hourly apprehended. The endeavors to preserve the general peace. I have given directions that the various lican Government, whilst others are ch papers which are neces ary for your infor- morous, some in favor of Don Pedro, and Is this language where describes the formation mation on the affairs of Holland and Bel- others in favor of Don Miguel. gium should be laid before you.

"On my part, I shall be ready to co. operate to the utmost of my power in enor promoting all well considered measures of improvement, but it is my painful du ty to observe, that the distuibances it Ireland to which I adverted at the clos terest and magnitude call for your atten- of the last session, have greatly increased . A spirit of insubordination and via

of the civil war in Portugal, which for rendering life and property insecure, de some months has existed between the fying the authority of the law, and threat Princes of the House of Braganza. From | ening the most fatal consequences, if a the commencement of this contest, I have promptly and effectually repressed."

The emoargo on Dutch vessels had no

may be afforded me to assist in restoring Letters from Swabia announce the pro definitive arrangement of the difference

Viceroy.

PARIS, FEB. 4.

The naval preparations at Brest con The Army of the North, the head quar ters of which were at Compeigne, had bee which it was placed before its recent en

Accounts from Spain received by th French journals, state that some partia .. The good tatth and honor with which disturbances in that kingdom had been e

Accounts from Brazil state, that a Re lower orders are clamorous for a Reput



oppr ssion."

Among all the other ratifications, there is not one which speaks of the constitution as a comentering into an explicit and sol min compact rience and full consideration, to be best with ach other, by assenting to and ratifying a calculated to secure public credit, to imnew constitution." Yow will o serve, sir, that is the people and not the States, who have entered into this compact, and it is the people of all the United States. bese conventions, by this point. The great object was to supersede the the people of the limited States had, by the to the state of the Church, more particuconfederation by a regular government; because, blessing of Providence, enjoyed the opportunity larly as regards its temporalities and the has been called by I propean writers the social plaints which have risen from the colleccompact; and, in contouring to this common tion of Tithes appear to require a change Lord King, in moving for an account of mode of expression; these convections speak of of system, which, without diminishing the the sums paid out of the livings held b that assent on which the new constitution was means of maintaining the established Ecclesiastical Corporations to the efficient to rest s an explicitand solemo compact, not which the States high entered into with each ther, but which the beople of the United States | may prevent the collision of interests, | very hard blows to the Dignitaries of the had entered mic.

> Finally, sir, how han any man get over the be a part of the Coastitution-they must be obliterated from the pajehment on which they are written, before any auman ingenuity or human argument can remove the popular basis on which that constitution rests, and sum the instrument admit of a more equitable and judicious abuse, and ought to have been remedie into a mere compact between sovereign States. distribution. The second proposition, sir, which I mean to maintain, is, that ne State authority can dissolve

the relations subsisting between the Government of the United States' and individuals ; that nothas secession without evolution. All this follows, as it seems to me, as a just consequence, if it be first proved that the Constitution of the United to individuals, and e ititled to their obedience.

These Governments though distinct, are not adverse. Each has its separat sphere, and its peculiar powers an I duties. It is, not a contest a Government ue jn e. It is a case of a division This division of pewer, it is true, is in a great system of America "and, though new and singular, it is not incomp chensible. The State con- necessary, you will probably find that, (said the Right Reverend Father in Gw stitutions are estab shed by the people of the people of all the St tes. How, then can a State secede? How can a State undo what the whole nited States? How can she annul their obligati- subjects hardly less important to the gen- Church had only been discovered with ons and oaths ? How can the members of her Le- eral peace and welfare of Ireland, affect- a few years ; before that time, attenio gislature renounce she r own oaths ? Sir, sccession as a revolutionary right, is intelligible ; as a

motions, and asserted at the head of armies, I can your attention will also be required. under the constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it seems to me to be nothing but a plain absurdity : fullit supposes resistance to Government under the authority of Government itself; it supposes ( ismemberment, without violaving the principle ; of union ; it supposes opposition to law, with ut crime ; it supposes the violat on of oaths, w thout responsibility ; it supposes the total over hrow of Government, without revolution.

"The approaching termination of the charter of the Bank of England and of the East India Company will require a

visions for the important interests connected with them, as may appear, from expeprove and extend our commerce, and to

promote the general prosperity and power of the British Empire. "Your attention will also be directed

maintenance of the Clergy. The com- 8th says :--Clergy in respectability and usefulness, Clergy, took occasion to deal out som and the consequent derangement and dis- Church. After specifying a number of satisfaction which have too frequently cases in which, notwithstanding th words of the Constitution itself 2-." We, the prevailed between the Ministers of the enormous increase in the value of the People of the United States, do ordan and establish Church and their parishioners. It may Tithes, the allowances to the officiatin this Constitution." These words must clase to also be necessary for you to consider what ministers by the Deans and Chapter remedies may be applied for the correc- were not more now than they were in tion of acknowledged abuses, and whe-hundred years ago-his Lordship con ther the revenues of the Church may not tended that this was a most scandalout

distribution. " In your deliberations on these impor- (said his Lordship) that from the Refor tant subjects, it cannot be necessary for | mation down to the present time, the prome to impress upon you the duty of care- tectors of the Church had shown them ing can dissolve these relations but revolution; tully attending to the security of the selves more disposed to protect the man and that, therefore there can be no such thing Courch established by law in these realms abuses of the Church, than that a refor and to the true interests of Religion.

States is a Governm int proper, owing protection removing the causes of complaint which first estate of the realm holding seats i had been so generally feit, and which had that house, to prevent reform? It was The people, sir, \* every State, live under two been attended with such unfortunate con-Governments. The owe obedience to both. - sequences, an act was passed ducing the ses ; and if there were and they had to sequences, an act was passed during the | ses; and if there were-and they had m last session of Parliament for carrying the means to correct them-they ought into effect a general composition for Tithes. | apply to Parliament. The King's speed between two sovereigns for the same power, like To complete that salutary work. I recom- recommended an equitable distribution the wars of the rival Houses in England ; nor is mend to you, in conjunction with such the revenue. He hoped that this equal it a dispute betweer a government de fucto, and other amendments of the law, as may be zation would take place ; he hoped the found applicable to that part of my domi- pluralities would be done away with; and nions, the adoption of a measure by which, he wished in addition, in order that E cised by nothing but a military force. They have, ther can dispense with the duty which individuals upon the principle of a just commutation, clesiastical persons might not neglect the owe to the other ; i. ather can call itself master the possessors of land, may be enabled to duties, that they might be confined to of the other : the p'ople are masters of both - free themselves from the burthen of an their spiritual functions." annual payment.

> although the established Church of Ire. the Noble Lord said that not much ha land is by law permanently united with been done, and referred to experience that of England, the peculiarities of their he seemed to forget that it was only " respective circumstances will require a lare years that any expectation had been separate consideration. There are other [formed [hear!] The imperfections of the ing the administration of justice, and the had not been directed to the subject, of

understand it. But, as a practical right, existing " Gentlemen of the House of Commons ;

## STILL LATER.

Philadelphia, March 25. By the packet ship Grace Brown, Lor don dates are received to the 8th of Fel ruary.

The London papers are almost exclu sively occupied with the discussions j Parliament on the King's Speech.

Mr. O'Conneil denominated the King speech a "brutal and bloody speec . The debates are of the most piquant kind

if indeed a broader and blunter wor would not be more expressive. The London Morning Chronicle of th

" In the House of Lords, last night

long ago. But "experience has prove

mation should take place; and they had " In relation to Ireland, with a view of used all their influence and power, ast

" The Bishop of London made a ver "To the further reforms that may be naive defence of the Church. "Whe petus had been given to the Clergy."

The speech of Mr. Cobbett last nig was in his happiest style. He lashed both Mr. Stanley and Mr. Macaulay, in astrait of sarcasin peculiarly racy. Mr. Macat lay, indeed, had afforded him a hand of which he dexterously availed hiasely in attempting to distinguish between the causes of American and Irish resistance Mr: Cobbett analyzed the Declaration 4 Independence, drawn up by Jefferset and certainly showed that the ana of between the cases of Ireland and Anci ca were not so remote as Mr. Macada had supposed it to be-The Augsburg Gazette of the 1st Feb brings the following important intelligente from Vienna:- "According to accoust .. In this part of the United Kingfrom Constantinople which have just ber lom, with very few exceptions, the puoreceived by express, an armistice for for lic peace has been preserved ; and it will ty days have just been concluded betweed. be your anxious but grateful duty to prothe Egyptians and the Tarks. The " mote by all practicable means, habits of gociations for the final settlement of 1th industry and good order among the labordiff rences are carried on with the hinde ardour by the Representatives of the Be

(To be constuded in our next.)

## FORE GN NEWS.

## LATEST CROM ENGLAND. New-York, March 23.

This morning the packet ship Sampson. rrived, bringing London papers to the evening of the th of February. On that day, the King and, in person, delivered he following important Speech to Paring classes of the community.

"I have directed the estimates for the service of the year to be laid before you. They will be framed with the most anxious attention to all useful economy. Notwithstanding the large reduction in the estimates of the last year, I am happy to inform you that all the extraordinay services which the exigencies of the times required, have been amply provided for. The state of the revenue as compared with the public expenditure, has hitherto fully realized the expectations that were formed at the close of the last session.

" My Lords and Gentlemen :