POLITICS OF THE DAY.

r. C. J. Industry Congress from the Third District in Pennsylvania, and one of the most rabid politicians in the country-the same man who declared that he would have been a Tory in the Revolutionary War-has recently addressed a Letter to his Constituents. This Communication was prepared at Washington, and ushered through eral interest :

"Come we now to the consideration of the first of Mr. Ingersoll's grave charges against the Whig party in Congress, to which we are the more disposed to pay attention from its being the staple of other political addresses besides that of Mr. Ingersoll, and particularly a series of letters addressed to the Editors of this paper by South Carolina, and published in the Globe. " An absurd violation of every citizen's right of debate was inflicted (says Mr. I. the charge. The length to which speeches are restricted, by the rule complained of, is striction be a violation of the right of debate; and, secondly, whether such a restriction be, as contended, absurd in itself.

Is the "right of debate" to which a Repdebate unlimitedly? or is it a right subject to such restrictions as will prevent its defeating the paramount right of the Repretution is, that " for any speech or debate in either House, they [Members of Congress] shall not be questioned in any other place. We find nothing in the Constitution which to speak three hours at a time, or three days at a time. We find in the Constitution nothing so truly "absurd," so fatal to all the purposes for which a Congress is established, as such a rule would be. We find on the contrary, that to Congress is given "all Legislative powers granted "by the Constitution; and to each House the power " to determine the rules of its proceedings."-Rules of proceeding are absolutely necessary to enable each House of Congress to exercise any of the powers with which it is entrusted; and of these rules none can be more necessary than those which propose limitations to debate, without which no important question could ever be taken in the House of Representatives, if the Opposition were as strong in numbers, and as capable of protion presenting to determine that any queswithout debate. Can it be doubted, then, that the House has a right to determine how of Whig origin, or even of modern date. It order maintained and rebellion quelled by it. long a question shall be debated, and to what portion of time each Member shall be (judges as well as legislators) to limit the cation of judgment and integrity combined. regulation, it is apparent, instead of being justly regarded as a violation of the right of ern invention) was measured by a water People to "their own worst enemies, themdebate, is, as far as it goes, a protector of hour-glassor time-piece, called the clepsydra, selves." Some of them, as we learn from the Pageant or its directors have dared for that right; because it secures the opportuni- under the care of an officer called the Ephu- contemporary history, went so far as to bety of joining in any debate to more Members | dor. The Athenian orators were particular- come reconciled to the Constitution only than could otherwise possibly exercise that | ly careful not to waste their time. There is | because of the incorporation of this power privilege. Suppose a debate be limited to an allusion to this practice in a very able and in it. three days, either by determination of the instructive article, on the character and ora- That this power and other powers entrust-House, or by the approaching term of the Session; and that the whole time should be consumed by a single member in delivering from the pen of the present learned Attor- not remind any reader. Mr. Ingersoll him. time to put a negative upon bills passed by his sentiments on the occasion. The supposition is not extravagant: such a thing has though written and published before the although the power of recommending mea. our Constitution appealed, as a triumphant happened before now, and would be likely to happen again, if the restriction as to time were removed. Will any body maintain that the general right of debate would, in such a case, be better secured by this unlimited license than by such a rule as now exists, which (estimating each day's session at six or seven hours) would allow at least twenty members the right to deliver their opinions, instead of only one? Decidedly, then, the one-hour rule practically fortifies. instead of violating the "right of debate." But, Mr. Ingersell says, the one-hour rule

is "absurd." In what respect? The effect is, we admit, sometimes ludicrous, when, in the midst of a florid harangue, a Member is brought to a sudden stop by the expiration of his hour. Yet the absurdity is not in the rule, but in the habit of diffuseness and irrelevancy in debate, which has been indulg-

Jimum cost of speeches is brought down to to principle in our Government, as exists, ing of history arises from the conviction our Constitution, the great danger, as expe- and nobly realized their most exalted hopes. dear for the whistle.'

has been raised against it. But the real thority.

assemblies of the present day, the length of the speech is measured by the degree of the patience of the People. In representative bodies, as in the British House of Commons, they have usages by which debate is kept imposed by the one hour rule; for there are be heard at all unless known to be capable 'upon the Executive [Gen. Washington] is tracy created as Conservative—the Dictator on the Constitution, the power of the Judia of instructing or amusing the House. Ob. trusive, tiresome, and disagreeable Members 'the secondary, is to increase the chances in | -imperceptibly undermined the power of Executive Veto to remedy any abuses of Le. and he who counts upon fruit from them is are coughed down, as the phrase is; that is, ' favor of the community against the passing | the Senate and the People, coalesced, and, gislative authority. they are assailed with noises of all sorfs until 'of bad laws, through haste, inadvertence, under the name of Imperator, (General,) or, longing debate as the Minority in the House good taste than such an usage? And yet the in fact, the office of President, throughout, Ancients. of Representatives ordinarily is, and now is. resort to the practice in the British House of was built up-for THE MAN who was already It is an undoubted right of the House of Commons is the only alternative to the limi. destined to administer it. Many worthy lish history has shown most conclusively tation of debate by rule.

> was the custom in the Athenian assemblages regarded Gen. Washington as the personifiwhich (clocks being of comparatively mod- in the People. They were afraid to trust the A Pageant made to utter words and to act as tory of Demosthenes, in the July number of ed to the first President were exercised by the New York Review, (understood to be him with forbearance and discretion we need the King of England for so long a period of ney-General of the United States,) which, self adverts to the remarkable fact, that, the Lords and Commons, the defenders of has the same right, in our opinion, to establicate that they could not raise them by adoption of the one-hour rule, is so a-propos sures to Congress is almost imperatively reply to the suggestion of the danger of an that we transcribe the entire passage: conferred upon the President, he was so improper use of that power. "If a Magis-"These causes before the Athenian assem- deferential to the wisdom and patriotism of trate so powerful, and so well fortified as a sydra. It was no uncommon thing for the ington was to exercise it every one knows "When?" was answered, in part at least, 'balance in favor of their opinion:" for, said first forty years of this Government the pow.

on what ground it is that those who declaim al to defeat the resolution of a deliberative ever title, Monarch in fact.

fer from the sort of opposition it encounters, ry power under military law, and had seen

three hundred and thirty-three dollars each. and as it has been exercised. We cannot; forced upon us that the worst vices of Gov- rience has already shown us, is not so much Guarded by every human precaution from Even this reduced expenditure for speeches, however, leave wholly unimproved a fair an ernments have risen from the corruption of of its being used to prevent the passage of the approaches of party spirit, it has ever considering the quality of some of them, opportunity for expressing our general views conservative institutions. Amongst the best any particular law as of its being so used as preserved its purity even while the pestilence. of the ancient Governments, there was no effectively to concentrate in the hands of the of faction was raging all around. Commend-The VETO, by which is denoted the power one instance in which the final issue was not | President the Legislative (the Initiative) as | ed to the understanding and endeared to the We have not been able to comprehend up- given by political institution to an individu- the acknowledged rule of one Man; by what- well as the Executive power. The reality affections of a free and enlightened People by

leaves no room to doubt that it was intended and make any distinction in favor of the majori- tion in the Constitution appears to have been the Roman Republic, not, as Mr. Ingersoll exults in, and party belongs the irreverent originality of expected to have great effect upon the public mind. ty? Does it not, on the contrary, operate an error of judgment in its founders who, would have his readers believe, as a safe- which we most sincerely regret. Even pri- scoffing at this High Court, and striving, In consequence of this, the Editors of the "National upon all Members alike? To make out designing it as a guard against "dictation" by the People, (or or to the last Veto, it is known, the inquiry vainly indeed, to expose its august functions Intelligencer" thought a review of it not unworthy that it is oppressive, it must be shown that of Democracy, have, by the introduction of the People's Representatives,) but directly by Members of Congress, on consultation to public ridicule and contempt. The pastheir pen. They accordingly took it in hand, and the majority obtain by it some advantage this single feature, established for us almost the reverse, to protect the People against the with the President's Cabinet Ministers and sage in this Address which so grossly caricathe occasions are indeed rare, when a public print other than that of facilitating the despatch a Monarchy under the name of a Republic. tyranny of hereditary rulers; being as dif- among themselves, was, not what sort of a tures the Court, and invites the People of is dignified by so able and overpowering an article: of business. It is a miserable affectation in The Constitution, as it stands, the work of ferent as possible in its inception and its ef- bill will Congress pass, but what-sort of a bill the United States to contemplate them en-Its great length (eleven columns) precludes the in- any opponent of this rule to argue as though almost superhuman wisdom, all but perfect fect from the Veto in our Constitution, which will the President sign? Since the last Ve- gaged in a supposed "farce greater than sertion of the whole, but we cannot forbear copying the majority are not, to say the least, as pure as it is, yet bears traces of the influence is placed there not to give effect to the will to, the question is still the same: not what the imposture of augurs predicting futurity the subjoined portion of it, relating to matters of gen- and patriotic in their purposes as the minor- of the atmosphere which the Convention of the People, but to defeat it, at the will or sort of a plan for the collecting, safe-keeping from the entrails of slaughtered beasts," is ity. Abstractedly considered, whose mo- breathed. When the office of President of the pleasure of "one man," elevated above and disbursing of the public money will Con- not more vicious and unredeemed in point of tives are most likely to be pure-his, who the United States was devised, and its at- the People, acting upon his sole responsi- gress pass, but what sort of a plan will the rhetoric, than it is abominable in its spirit proposes and presses measures for the relief tributes and powers defined, the Convention bility. The history of the tribunitial Veto, President approve? What ought to be taken and intention, and wanton and unnecessary of his fellowacitizens from suffering, for rai- had General Washington in their eye. He so exultingly referred to by Mr. I. was brief- for granted (extreme cases excepted) has in the train and purpose of the argument (if sing ways and means to meet the public ne- was their beau-ideal of a President, and the ly this: After expelling their Kings, the thus already become the subject of prelimi- it deserves the name) to which it is attached. cessities, and for extending and multiplying Constitution was modelled with reference Romans instituted the Consular Government, nary inquiry. the public defences -or his, who indiscrimi. and adapted to the pattern before them, rath- which, under another name, was a disguised This is entirely wrong; or, if right, it respect unworthy of the character of Mr. le. nately opposes every thing proposed? With- er than to that of human nature in general, monarchy, consisting of two annually elect- proves beyond question that the Veto prin- gersoll as a scholar, a gentleman, and a disout waiting for an answer to this question, They had tried Gen. W. during the fifteen ed Consuls, with a hereditary Senate, and ciple cannot be too soon stricken out of the tinguished barrister; and has nothing to Mr. Rhett, one of the Representatives from we put another, more to the point before us. preceding years, including the seven years' some municipal authority left with the Pco- Constitution. "All Legislative powers here- plead in mitigation of its offence but the fa-What is there in the position of the former war, by every test to which virtue and valor ple, rather to flatter and amuse than to prowhich should restrict his right of debate more | could be subjected. They knew him to be | tect them from power. This was so ap- | vested in a Congress of the United States:" | ercises ever the senses of all who five within than that of the latter, or which justifies the proof against all the temptings of ambition, parent that the People, (the Plebeians,) op- and "the Executive power shall be vested its atmosphere. by fixing the length of speeches." This is latter in denouncing as peculiarly oppressive the seductions of avarice, and the infirmi- pressed beyond further endurance, revolted. in a President of the United States." By upon him a rule which operates equally on ties of temper. This Veto Power, sid they, They rose and retired in a body, one and the term "legislative" is intended "law-ma- expatiate upon the constitutional powers and both? If the rule really operated to prevent | will be safe in his hands, and it will enable | all, to the Aventine Mount, peaceably, with- king;" by "executive" is (see Dr. Johnson) | duties of the Supreme Court, nor to exposu one hour. The questions to be determined any necessary and proper debate if it pre- him to protect himself and his just authority, out violence of any sort, simply declaring "active, not deliberative; the heresies in relation thereto which have in reference to it are, first, whether this re- cluded the statement at large of objections to should the Democratic branches of the Gov- their intention to abandon the city unless re- having the power to put in act the laws." any measure under debate, there would be at ernment be disposed to press upon him too lief was extended to them. The Senate, be- The Executive is not a part of the Legisla- ed by certain of the political leaders and least a plausible excuse for the clamor which closely, or attempt to encroach upon his au- coming alarmed, sent out the oldest and most ture of the United States, as was most ex- party-presses of the day. Whatever may be popular men of their own body to treat with ceptionably intimated, for the first time, in the "dogmas" of the Whig party with regound of objection to the one-hour rule is, These are almost the very terms used in the People; and, to appease the revolt, the one of President Van Buren's Messages to gard to those powers, they are all resolvable resentative in Congress is entitled, a right to that it curbs in some degree the abuse (not "the Federalist" in vindication, or rather in Senate consented to the creation of Tribunes, Congress. All Legislative power is vested to that great and leading tenet, the supremacy the right) of debate, in which factious mem. palliation, of this feature of the Constitution to be elected annually from the Plebeian in Congress; which Congress; says the Con- of the laws. Beyond this they have never bers of an Opposition are prone to indulge. -the Veto power not being so much attemp- order, no Patrician being eligible to that stitution, "shall consist of [not the Presi- stretched. Short of it they can never be Illustrations of the truth of this remark might | ted to be justified by that work, as to be ex- station. The persons of these Tribunes | dent and] a Senate and House of Represent- restricted. sentative to rote? The only protection to be drawn from Opposition speeches upon any cused. "It will not be too strong to say were, while in office, sacred: and "their atives." The Veto power is, it is true, giv- In conclusion: Mr. Ingersoll closes his the right of debate provided by the Consti- question during the late Session, in which see Federalist, No. 68] that there will be sole function was to interpose in all grie- en to the President, but it is given to be ex- Address by saying that "the Winter of our "hard cider" and "coon skins" made a larger 'a constant probability of seeing the station 'vances offered the plebeians by their supe- ercised in cases admitting of no reasonable [the Opposition's] discontent has passed away figure in the debate than the subject proper. of President filled by characters [meaning | riors. This interposing was called interces- doubt, either as to constitutionality or expe-Gen. Washington pre-eminent for ability 'sio, and was performed by standing up and diency, such for example as that of an attempt opens upon the Fall Elections with all its The limitation of the length of speeches is and virtue: and this [having such a man as pronouncing the single word neto, I forbid to pass a bill to suspend the writ of habeas reviving promise. We can hardly hope to declares that each member shall be entitled a rule which, in one form or other, must General Washington for President will be 'it." Almost coeval with the Consular of corpus; a bill respecting an establishment of rival our author's flights of fancy. Much it exist in all popular assemblies, whether thought no inconsiderable recommendation fice, another was created for extraordinary religion: a bill of attainder; or a bill to do we follow them at long distance. Let us try primary or representative. In the primary of the Constitution by those who are able emergencies of war or domestic disturbance. any thing forbidden by the Constitution .to estimate the share which the Executive This officer, termed Dictator, clothed for six The Veto power, in a word, ought to be con- dance of the Seasons as the Spring opening in every Government must necessarily have months with absolute power, absorbed for sidered as the extreme medicine of our sys. upon the Fall "with all its reviving promise," in its good or ill administration." After that period the Consular, Tribunitian, and in- tem, and not as its daily bread. having thus drawn the portrait of the deed all other powers of the State. With This is our theory in reference to the Veto that Fall, with all its fading tints, its por-President to be under the Constitution, the these two species of elective Magistrates, Power. It is a power, in our opinion, sus. tentous gloom, its gathering clouds and riswithin limits more arbitrary by far than that "Federalist" argues in favor of the Veto [the Consuls and the Tribunes,) the Senate | ceptible of great abuse; and, even upon our | ing storms, will be precipitated upon the power, as follows: "The PRIMARY induce. was, however, in Rome, for many ages the own construction of it, limiting its exercise | Spring. The hopes of Locofocoism, revived times in which no member is allowed to ment to conferring the power in question substantial central power. But the Magis- to extreme cases, it is a useless excrescence by recent occurrences, may exhibit here and

patriots, who had served under Washington, the omnipotence of real policy over externa of colonial possessions encircling the world, with fleets and armies at his command, his person sacred by the laws, and clothed by the same laws with the Veto power absolute, directed by the real masters. But neither more than a century to pronounce the "I forbid" to the Legislative body. If this terrific term rose to their tongue, it died away on their lips: the real, we might say the inherent, power frowned and overawed the outward legal form. To this forbearance of blies] were all restrained within certain-lim- the Representatives of the People, that in his British Monarch," say the writers of "the its as to time, varying apparently according first Message to Congress he made no specific Federalist," " would have scruples about to circumstances, and measured by a pro- recommendation whatever. With respect to the exercise of the power under considerations, has, with far-reaching sagacity, oasis. That they were acquainted with the portionate allowance of water in the clep- the Veto power, how reluctant Gen. Wash. tion, how much greater caution may be provided a mode of ascertaining the true principle of the railroad, is obvious, that is 'reasonably expected in a President of the orator to say, 'I have a good deal more to who has read the history of the establishment 'United States, clothed for a short period of 'add, but I see the water running short,' or of the first Bank of the United States. He four years with the Executive authority of to find him crying out, when he called for hesitated from real doubt to sign the bill, a Government wholly and purely Republia the reading of a law or document by the and signed it at last against the advice of a le can? This was a fair presumption, and, clerk, (as was the usage,) 'stop the water.' majority of his Cabinet, being of opinion, through very far from being an argument in The first maxim of Attic taste in all things with Mr. Jefferson, (then Secretary of State,) favor of the Veto power, was, as far as it the lowest functionary. is, ne quid nimis. When shall we learn, in who suggested it to him, that if "the pro went, a good argument to dispel the appre. this most long-winded of all countries, to and the con, hang so even as to balance his hensions entertained of abuse in the exer. imitate at least the Atticism of brevity?" | 'judgment, a just respect for the wisdom of cise of it. The argument stood the test of The learned Attorney-General's question, 'the Legislature would naturally decide the experience, also, remarkably well. For the Members appear to think their wright of debate is curtailed because they are not allowed to talk on until they have nothing more to say, or until they are forced down to their seas by physical exhaustion. Can be in the constitution the clearly instead by the debate is curtailed because they are not in the clearly instead by the debate is curtailed because they are not institution has placed of the Athenian assemblies or interest that the Constitution has placed of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, of the Validity of such an institution. [See his Message to the Senate Jan. 30, 1815.]—

In planting this Veto power in the Constitution most members of the Consention of the Supremental Since that they are forced down field his taste: there was something military in the decision of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, to his will. He took a pleasure in exercis. In planting this Veto power in the Constitution of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, to his will. He took a pleasure in exercis.

In planting this Veto power in the Constitution field his taste: there was something military in the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary, of the Executive, and finally by the Judiciary.

To come down to more modern ages, Eng-

of this danger was demonstrated under the a faithful, able, temperate, and unimpeachagainst the new rule represent it as particu- body, is, in its present form, a soletism in Such was the issue of "the great tribuni- Administration of Gen. Jackson. It is fur- able exercise of powers of the sublimest the "Globe" to the Public, in such a manner, as larly oppressive upon the minority. Does it our system of Government. Its incorporation the rillustrated in the state of things at this comprehensiveness; to Mr. Ingersoll and his

'to enable [Gen. W.] to defend himself; occasionally, and the Tribunes permanently ciary being as effective and as instant as the

their voices are drowned, and they cannot or design." It may be asserted, without as we have the term, Emperor, became the must be admitted that it is right in the Ex. and cluster "with all their blushing honors choose but take their seats. Is not the rule of fear of contradiction, that this anomalous most absolute Monarch that ever existed in ecutive to put his negative upon any bill thick upon them." But "the third day limitation more equitable and less offensive to power was fitted into the Constitution-that, Europe. So much for the Veto among the regard to which, in the language of Mr. Jef; comes a frost, a nipping frost!" Instead of ferson's Letter of advice to President Wash- | furnishing bright garlands for the brow of ington, his mind is, "tolerably clear that it victorious Locofocoism, the Autumn flowers is unauthorized by the Constitution." We will be driven from their stems by the wintry therefore acquiesced deferentially in this ex. | winds, and all the plains be strewed with bill of the last session, on the ground of the only to be blighted. President's declaration of his solemn convic. tion of its unconstitutionality; nor are we disposed to question his right to veto the se. limited for his share of the debate? Such a speakers to a particular portion of the time, They were more willing to confide in him than what is in reality the British Sovercign?— cond on the same ground. Our conviction is not the less firm that his view of his duty in both cases was erroneous. He acted, conscientiously in doing what he did. We are equally conscientious in the opinion that he knowledge than ourselves, they also in others might, without violating either his oath or knew more. They possessed the art of tem-

his duty, have acted otherwise.

tional power of Congress to establish an in- ployed in the cavern mysteries of their corporated bank as solemnly and deliberate- Pagan free-masonry, (the oldest in the world, before it had reached the public ear. We Mr. Jefferson, speaking in the spirit of the er was not exercised more than half a dozen ly as it has since done. He considered the of which the pyramids were the lodges,) but ed to such an unreasonable extent that some have already began to learn. We are learn. Constitution, "it is chiefly for cases where times. It was not until the Presidency of question, even then (in 1815) precluded by that the modern steam engine is derived, Members appear to think their "right of ing. Substitute the clock for the clepsydra, they are clearly misled by error, ambition, General Jackson that it came to be consider. repeated recognitions, by the Legislature, through Solomon de Caus, the predecessor

In one word, it is thoroughly and in every

We have neither time nor room here to been so industriously and artfully disseminat-

during a Summer Session, and Spring our wing, however, thus: Of so surprising a the natural consequence would seem to be there some buds of promise; but blossoms' in Autumn are out of the order of Nature, destined to disappointment. These untime-Whilst, however, the Veto power exists, it | ly flowrets may hang out their flattering hues,

RAILWAY AND STEAM-POWER 3,600

The lost Arts of the Ancient Egyptians. -If the Thebans 1800 years before Christ, knew less in some departments of useful pering copper tools so as to cut the hardest We believe that the Constitution author- granite with the most minute and brilliant izes the establishment of a Fiscal Corpora- precision. This art we have lost. Again, tion, if a Fiscal Corporation be a necessary | what mechanical means had they-to raise and and proper agent for the collection, custody, fix the enormous imposts on the lintels of and disbursement of the revenue. Congress | their temples at Karnae? Architects now lish suchean agent as to establish sub-Trea- the usual mechanical powers. These means surers or other agencies of a different de- must, therefore, be put to the account of the scription for the same purpose. The case "lost arts." That they were familiar with appears perfectly clear to us. But, suppose the principle of Artesian wells has been latewe doubted the power: what then? Why, ly proved by engineering investigations carthen, the Constitution, anticipating such ried on while boring for water in the great construction of the Constitution, which con- to say, they had artificial causeways, levelled, struction becomes as much a part of the fun- direct and grooved, (the grooves being adamental law as the letter of the Constitu- pointed with oil;) for the conveyance from tion, and is equally obligatory upon all who great distances of enormous blocks of stone, are called to its administration, from the entire stone temples, and coloscal statues of highest officer in the Government down to half the height of the monament. Remnants of iron, it is said, have lately been Such was the opinion of President Madi- Jound in these grooves. Finally, M. Arago son before the Supreme Court had passed has argued, that they not only possessed a judgment upon the question of the constitu- knowledge of steam power, which they cm-

whole sitting in the delivery costs, the Peonle therefore, two thousand dollars; a speech
of three days (and a man of Mr. Ingersofts or Mr. Rhett's ingenuity and learning might make a speech of that length
without exhausting either his subject or himself) would cost the people thrice two thousand dollars. Under the new rule the max-

designated its value of the one of the present of t

we turn our eyes alo

of the Veto as was made by Pro