BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, April 13, 1830.

Read and laid on the table.

Mr. McDuffie from the Committee of Ways and Means, to which the subject had been referred, made the following

REPORT:

The Committee of Ways and Means, to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President as relates to the Bank of the United States, beg leave to report:

That they have bestowed upon the subject all the attention demanded by its intrinsic importance, and now respectfully submit the result of their deliberations to the consideration of the House. There are few subjects, having reference to the policy of an established government, so vitally connected with the health of the body politic, or in which the pecuniary interests of society are so extensively and deeply involved. No one of the attributes of sovereignty carries with it a more solemn responsibility, or calls in requisition a higher degree of wisdom, than the power of regulating the common currency, and thus fixing the general standard of value for a great commercial community composed of confederated States.

Such being, in the opinion of the committee, the high and delicate trust exclusively committed to Congress by the Federal Constitution, they have proceeded to discharge the duty assigned to them with a corresponding sense of its magnitude and difficulty.

The most simple and obvious analysis of the subject, as it is presented by the message of the President, exhibits the following questions for the decision of the National Legislature:

1. Has Congress the constitutional power to incorporate a bank, such as that of the United States?

2. Is it expedient to establish and maintain such an institution?

3. Is it expedient to establish 'a National Bank, founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues?'

I. If the concurrence of all the departments of the Government, at different periods of our history, under every administration, and during the ascendancy of both the great political parties, into which the country was divided, soon after the adoption of the present Constitution, shall be regarded as having the authority ascribed to such sanctions by the common consent of all well regulated communities, the constitutional power of Congress to incorporate a bank, may be assumed as a postulate no longer open to controversy. In little more than two years after the Government went into operation, and at a period when most of the distinguished members of the Federal Convention were either in the Executive or Legislative councils, the act, incorporating the first bank of the United States, passed both branches of Congress by large majorities, and received the deliberate sanction of President Washington, who had then recently presided over the deliberations of the Convention. The Constitutional power of Congress, to pass the act of incorporation, was thoroughly investigated, both in the Executive Cabinet and in Congress, under circumstances, in all respects propitious to a dispassionate decision. There was at that time, no organization of political parties, and the question was, therefore decided by those, who, from their knowledge and experience, were peculiarly qualified to decide correctly; and who were entirely free from the influence of that party excitement and prejudice, which would justly impair, in the estimation of posterity, the authority of a legislative interpretation of the constitutional charter. No persons can be more competent to give a just construction to the Constitution, than those who had a principal agency in framing it; and no administration can claim a more perfect exemption from all those influences which sometimes pervert the judgements even of the most wise and patriotic, than that of the Father of his Country, during the first term of his service.

Such were the circumstances, under which all the branches of the National Legislature solemnly determined that the power of creating a National Bank was vested in Congress by the Constitution. The Bank thus created, continued its operations for twenty years—the period for which its charter was granted—during which time, public and and private credit were raised, from a prostrate to a very elevated condition, and the finances of the nation were were placed upon the most solid foundation.

When the charter expired, in 1811, Congress refused to renew it, principally, owing as the committee believe, to the then existing state of political parties. Soon after the bank was chartered, the two great parties that have since divided the country, began to assume an organized existence. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, the former in the Executive Cabinet, and the latter in Congress, had been opposed to the establishment of the bank, on constitutional grounds, and being placed at the head of the party most unfavorable to the extension of the powers of the Government, by implication, the bank question came to be regarded as in some degree, the test of political principle.

When Mr. Jefferson came into power, upon the strong tide of a great political revolution, the odium of the Alien and Sedition laws was, in part, communicated to the Bank of the United States; and, although he gave his official sanction to an act, creating a new branch of that institution, at New Orleans, and to another to punish the counterfeiting of its bills, yet when the question of renewing the charter came before Congress, it was discussed as a party question. And, though some of the most distinguished republicans, including Mr Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Crawford, then a member of the Senate, were decidedly in favor of the renewal, sustaining the measure by able arguments, the votes in both branches of Congress were distinctly marked as party votes. At no time, since the commencement of the Government, has there existed a more violent party excitement, than that which marked the period under review. It was the period of the embargo, non-intercourse, and other commercial restrictions, when the undiscriminating opposition of the leaders of the federal party to the measures adopted by the administration; to vindicate our rights against British aggression, had caused the great majority of the American people to view these leaders as the apologists, of a nation, already regarded in the light of a public enemy. To these circumstances we add, that the stock of the bank was principally held by British subjects, and Americans of the unpopular party, the House will readily perceive how great were the national and party prejudices, which must have been arrayed against the proposition to renew its charter. It was stated by Mr. Clay, in a speech delivered in the Senate, that seventenths of the stock belonged to British subjects, and that certain English noblemen, and a late Lord Chancellor, were among the very largest of the stockholders. With all these difficulties to encounter, the proposition for renewing the charter was lost only by the casting vote of the President of the Senate, and by a majority of a single vote in the House of Representatives.

In less than three years after the expiration of the charter—the war with Great Britain having taken place in the mean time—the circulating medium became so disordered, the public finances so deranged, and the public credit so impaired, that the enlightened patriot, Mr. Dallas, who then presided over the Treasury Department, with the sanction of Mr. Madison, and it is believed, every member of the cabinet, recommended to Congress the establishment of a National Bank, as the only measure by which the public credit could be revived, and the fiscal resources of the Government redeemed from a ruinous, and otherwise incurable embarrassment: and, such had been the impressive lesson taught by a very brief, but fatal experience, that the very institution, which had been so recently denounced, and rejected by the republican party, being now recommended by a republican administration, was carried through both branches of Congress, as a republican measure, by an overwhelming majority of the republican party. It is true that Mr. Madison did not approve and sign the bill which passed the two Houses, because it was not such a bill as had been recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and because the bank it proposed to create, was not calculated, in the opinion of the President, to relieve the necessities of the country.

But he promised his objections to the measure, by waiving the question of the constitutional authority of the Legislature to establish an incorporated bank, as being precluded, in his opinion, by repeated recognitions, under varied circumstances, of the validity of such an institution in acts of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches of the Goverment, accompanied by indications, in different modes, of a concurrence of the general will of the nation.' Another bill was immediately introduced, and would in all probability, have become a law, had not the news of peace, by doing away the pressure of the emergency, induced Congress to suspend further proceedings on the subject, until the ensuing session. At the commencement of that session, Mr. Madison invited the attention of Congress to the subject; and Mr. Dallas again urged the necessity of establishing a bank, to restore the currency, and facilitate the collection and disbursement of the public revenue, and so deep and solemn was the conviction upon the minds of the public functionaries, that such an institution was the only practicable means of restoring the circulating medium to a state of soundness, that, notwithstanding the decided opposition of all the State banks and their debtors, and, indeed, the whole debtor class of the community, the act incorporating the present Bank of the United States, was passed by considerable majorities in both branches of Congress, and approved by Mr. Madison.

This brief history of the former and present bank, forcibly suggests a few practical reflections. It is to be remarked, in the first place, that, since the adoption of the Constitution, a bank has existed under the authority of the Federal Government; for thirty-three out of forty years; during which time, public and private credit have been maintained at an elevation fully equal to what has existed in any nation of the world: whereas in the two short intervals, during which no national bank existed, public and private credit were greatly impaired, and, in the latter instance, the fiscal operations of the Government were almost entirely arrested. In the second place, it is worthy of special notice, that, in both the instances in which Congress has created a bank, it has been done under circumstances calculated to give the highest authority to the decision. The first instance, as has been already remarked, was in the Primitive days of the republic, when the patriots of the Revolution, and the sages of the Federal Convention, were the leading members both of the Executive and Legislative councils; and when Gen. Washington, who, at the head of her armies had conducted his country to independence, and, as the head of the Convention, had presided over those deliberations which resulted in the establishment of the present Constitution, was the acknowledged President of a people, undistracted by party divisions. The second instance was under circumstances of a very different but equally decisive character. We find the very party which had so recently defeated the proposition to renew the charter of the old bank, severely schooled both by adversity and experience, magnanimously sacrificing the pride of consistency, and the prejudices of party, at the shrine of patriotism. It may be said without disparagement, that an assembly of higher talent and purer patriotism has never existed since the days of the Revolution, than the Congress by which the present bank was incorporated. If ever a political party existed, of which it might be truly said that 'all the ends they aimed at were their country's,' 'it was the republican party of that day. They had just conducted the country through the perils of a war waged in defence of her rights and honor, and, elevating their views far above the narrow and miserable ends of party strife, sought only to advance the permanent happiness of the people. It was to this great end, that they established the present bank.

In this review, it will be no less instructive than curious, to notice some of the changes made in the opinions of prominent men, yielding to the authority of experience. Mr Madison, who was the leading opponent of the bank created in 1791, recommended and sanctioned the bank created in 1816; and Mr. Clay, who strenuously opposed the renewal of the charter in 1811, as strenuously supported the proposition to grant the charter in 1816.

That may be said of the bank charter, which can be of few contested questions of constitutional power. Both the great political parties that have so long divided the country, have solemnly pronounced it to be constitutional, and there are but very few of the prominent men of either party, who do not stand committed in its favor. When, to this imposing array of authorities, the committee add the solemn and unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, in a case which fully and distinctly submitted the constitutional question to their cognizance, may they not ask, in the language of Mr. Dallas, "can it be deemed a violation of the right of private opinion to consider the constitutionality of a national bank as a question forever settled and at rest?"

And here the committee beg to be distinctly understood, as utterly disclaiming the idea of ascribing to the decision of any or all the departments of the Government, upon a great constitutional question, the binding authority, which belongs to judical precedents, in cases of mere private right, depending upon the construction of the ordinary acts of the Legislature. No length of prescription, or concurrence of authority, can consecrate the usurpation of of powers subversive of public liberty, and destructive of public happiness. But, where the power exercised is clearly conducive to the public welfare, & its constitutionality is merely doubtful it would seem to be one of the most obvious dictates of practical wisdom, to regard the decision of those who had the best means of ascertaining the intention of the Constitution, and who were actuated by the most undoubted purity and disinterestedness of motive, as of sufficient authority at least to overrule theoretical objections and silence individual scruples.

The committee will now submit a few remarks, with the design of shewing, that viewing the constitutionality of the bank as an original question, the arguments in its favor are at least as strong as those against it.

The earliest, and the principal objection urged against the constitutionality of a national bank, was, that Congress had not the power to create corporations. That Congress has a distinct and substantive power to create corporations, without reference to the objects entrusted to its jurisdiction, is a proposition which never has been maintained, within the knowledge of the committee; but, that any one of the powers expressly conferred upon Congress, is subject to the limitation, that it shall not be carried into effect by the agency of a corporation, is a proposition which cannot be maintained, in the opinion of the committee.

If Congress, under the authority to pass, *all laws*, necessary and proper for carrying into effect the power vested in all or any of the departments of the Government, may rightfully pass a law inflicting the punishment of death, *without any other authority*, it is difficult to conceive why it may not pass a law, under the same authority, for the more humble purpose of creating a corporation. The power of creating a corporation, is one of the lowest attributes, or, more properly speaking, incidents, of sovereign power. The chartering of a bank, for example, does not authorize the corporation to do any thing, which the individuals composing it might do without the charter. It is the right of every individual of the Union to give credit to whom he chooses, and to obtain credit where he can get it. It is not the policy of any commercial country to restrict the free circulation of credit, whether in the form of promissory notes, bills of exchange, or bank notes. The charter of the Bank of the U. States, therefore, merely enables the corporation to do, in an artificial capacity, and with more convenience, what it would be lawful for the individual corporators to do without corporation. Mr. Girard established a Bank in Philadelphia without a charter, which was in very high credit within the sphere of its circulation; and it cannot be doubted, that he might have formed a banking copartnership with the principal capitalists in the other commercial cities of the Union, of which the bills would have had a general credit in every part of the country, particularly if the Federal Government had provided that these bills should be received in discharge of its dues. The only material particular in which the charter of the Bank of the U. States confers a privilege upon the corporation, apparently inconsistent with the State laws, is, the exemption of the individual property of the corporators from responsibility for the debts of the corporation. But if the community deal with the bank, knowing that the capital subscribed is alone liable for its debts, no one can complain either of imposition or injury; and, in point of fact, no one ever has complained on that score, or ever will. The real complaint against the bank, is not that it has not a sufficient basis for its credit, but that its credit is too extensive. The objection lies, therefore, not against the artificial character communicated to the stockholders by the charter, but against the pecuniary operations of the bank itself. Now, these operations consist in the use of its own capital—a faculty not surely derived from the Government, but, in the exercise of which, the Government imposes many useful restrictions for the benefit of itself and of the community.

The committee have presented this brief analysis of a bank corporation, with the view of showing that there is nothing in the nature of the thing, which renders it unfit to be an instrument in the hands of a government, admitted to be sovereign in its appropriate sphere, for carrying into effect powers expressly delegated.

(To be continued.)

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, April 21.

In the Senate of the United States, yesterday, a memorial was presented by the President, from the ship-carpenters, rope-makers, riggers, block-makers, plumbers, coppersmiths, and others, of the city of Philadelphia, engaged in the various branches of business connected with commerce and navigation, remonstrating against the tariff. Mr. Foot, suggested the reference of the memorial to the Committee on Manufactures, without reading, when, at the instance of Mr. Hayne, the memorial was read, and ordered to be printed on the motion of Mr Grundy On resuming the unfinished business, Mr Adams, of Mississippi, delivered an eloquent and interesting reply to the arguments of Messrs. Frelinghuysen, and Sprague.

The bill authorizing the appointment of an additional clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, and for regulating and fixing the salaries of the clerks in said office; the bill for the relief of Jean B. Jerome; the bill for the relief of Gabriel Godefrey; the bill authorizing the inhabitants of the State of Louisiana to enter back lands; the bill for the relief of David Baird; and the bill for the relief of the several institutions in the U. States, for the instruction of the Deaf and Dumb; were severally read a third time and passed.

In the House of Representatives, petitions and memorials (the presentation of which was deferred on Monday, in consequence of the funeral of Gen. Alexander Smyth,) were submitted as usual. Among the memorials presented by the Speaker, was one from the ship carpenters, and other artizans employed in ship building in Philadelphia, setting forth the grievances under which they labored from the impost duties on raw materials. It was read twice, and referred to a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The House resumed the consideration of the resolution of Mr. Desha, for the re-organization of the army, and the reduction of the number of officers. Mr. Tucker concluded his remarks in support of the proposed measure; and was followed by Mr. Drayton in opposition to it.—The hour expired, however, before the latter gentleman concluded his observations.

The numerous private bills ordered for a third reading on Friday, were read a third time and passed; and various other bills of a private or local nature, were passed through the ordinary stages of legislation. The bill for the reduction of the duties on Tea and Coffee, was, after an animated and interesting debate, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-day

Amendments had been submitted by Mr Simmes to reduce the duties on Tea from 2¾ cents per lb. as proposed by the bill, to 2 cents, after the first of December, 1831; and to 1 cent after the expiration of a year from that date; and by Mr. Reed, providing that the duty on cocoa should not exceed 1 cent per lb.; both of which were agreed to. The remainder of the day was occupied in the consideration of the Florida Land Claims' Bill, which, after a long debate, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

THURSDAY, April 22.

In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. Rowan presented a resolution providing for the allowance of postage on the Marshal's returns under the late Census law, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That so much of the 13th section of the act of the 3d of March, 1825, as restricts the weight of packages by mail shall not apply to the transmission of letters relating to the fifth census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the U. States.

The President having decided that this resolution was equivalent to a bill, or joint resolution, it was, on motion of Mr. Rowan, read the first and second times, by unanimous consent, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. Mr. Barton's resolution, requesting of the President the reasons for the removal of a land officer in Missouri, was after some discussion in which Mr. Barton supported, and Messrs. Kane, McKinley, Bibb and Grundy, opposed its adoption, laid on the table, on motion of Mr. Grundy.

The following bills were passed—the bill to authorize the payment of the claims of the State of Massachusetts, for the services of her militia during the late war; the bill for the relief of Thoms Wiggins; the bill for the relief of the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Chillicothe; and the bill to refund the moiety of the forfeiture upon the schooner Volante and cargo.

In the House of Representatives, the consideration of Mr. Desha's resolution for the reduction of the number of officers in the U. States' Army, was resumed. Mr. Drayton continued his observations, in opposition to the measure proposed, until the lapse of the alloted hour. The various bills ordered on the preceding day to be engrossed for a third reading, were then considered. The bill for the reduction of the duties on tea, coffee, and cocoa was read a third time and passed, by a vote of 163 to 5; the question being taken by yeas and nays. Several other bills were postponed until Monday.

The bill for the relief of the surviving relatives of the officers and crew of the U. States' ship Hornet, was returned from the Senate with an amendment, altering the pay to be allowed from the term of nine months to six months; in which amendment the House concurred, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs. The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. Martin in the Chair, and took up the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, on the subject of the impeachment of Judge Peck, of Missouri, for high misdemeanors in office.

Mr. Buchanan, the Chairman of the Committee, went into a detail of the circumstances attending the alleged malpractice of the Judge, and concluded with moving a resolution that James H. Peck, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Missouri, be impeached of high misdemeanors in office.

Mr. Clay next addressed the Committee in a long and ingenious argument in opposition to the resolution, and was followed by Mr. Spencer, of New-York, who contended that no law could justify Judge Peck in the conduct which he had pursued in relation to the matter complained of—Judge Spencer had not concluded his remarks when, on motion of Mr. Doddridge, the Committee rose and obtained leave to sit again, and the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, April 23.

In the Senate of the United States, yesterday, a number of bills, from the House of Representatives were read twice and referred. The amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill authorizing the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund to redeem the public debt; and to the bill providing for the re-appropriation of certain unexpended balances of former appropriations were concurred in. The joint resolution submitted by Mr. Rowan, authorizing the transmission of papers by mail, relative to the fifth census, was read a third time and passed. On motion of Mr. Hayne, the bill to regulate the Patent Office was considered, and a debate ensued. It was, on motion of Mr. Forsyth, laid on the table. When the bill for the removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi was taken up, Mr. Frelinghuysen replied to the arguments of Mr. Forsyth on the Indian Bill. When Mr. F. concluded, the Senate adjourned. Judge White has the floor to-day.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Cambreleng, from the Committee on Commerce, reported a bill from the Senate: entitled 'An act allowing duties on foreign merchandize imported into Louisville, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Natchez, and Nashville, to be secured and paid in those places,' with an amendment. Mr. Spencer, of New York, from the Committee on Agriculture, reported a resolution directing the printing of six thousand copies of the Message of the President of the United States, of the 5th of January, 1825, transmitting a report from the Secretary of the Navy; in relation to American canvass, cables, and cordage, for the use of the House.

Mr. Craig, of Virginia, made a favorable report from the Committee on Internal Improvement, on the letter of Mr. Skinner, in relation to the construction in this city, of a central basin, for commercial purposes; and, also furnishing a suppply of water for the public buildings in the metropolis. The report concluded with a resolution authorizing the President of the United States to cause the necessary surveys to be made, in order that a report thereon should be presented to Congress at the ensuing season. The report and resolutions were laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Drayton continued his remarks in opposition to the resolution of Mr. Desha, for a reduction of the number of Officers in the U. S. Army. The hour again expired before a decision was taken upon the question.

The other bills before the House, on the subject of the District, to the consideration of which, the day had been devoted by a resolution of the House were, upon motion of Mr. Buchanan, postponed until Tuesday next, in order to take up the resolution of the Committee on the Judiciary for the impeachment of Judge Peck, of Missouri. Upon this matter the House went into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union and Mr. Doddridge, and Mr. Storrs, of New York successively spoke in favor of the report. Mr. Bell followed on the opposite side.

After some further discussion, the Committee rose and reported progress, and the House adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Denny, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Coulter, of Pennsylvania, for the remainder of the session, on account of a severe domestic affliction which had befallen that gentleman.

SATURDAY, April 24.

In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. Benton submitted a resolution directing the Military Committee to inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation to preserve and secure the Pea Patch Island, as the basis of the fortification which is built on it. Several reports were made from Committees on bills which had been referred to them. On motion of Mr. Rowan, the bill further to continue the powers of the Judges of Arkansas, was considered, and, on motion of Mr. Smith, of S. C., postponed until to day On motion of Mr. Forsyth the bill authorizing the heirs of Silence Elliott to institute a suit or suits against the U. States; after some debate was decided in the negative.

On motion of Mr. Grundy, the Senate, resumed, as the unfinished business, the consideration of the bill providing for an exchange of lands with such Indians in the U. States as are willing to emigrate, and making an appropriation to defray the expenses of their removal beyond the Mississippi. Mr. White, who was entitled to the floor, yielded it to Mr. Sprague, who replied to the arguments of Messrs. McKinley and Forsyth, of yesterday; and, when Mr. S. had concluded, Mr. White took the floor in reply to the various arguments which had been urged against the bill in the course of the debate, and continued until a late hour; when the Senate adjourned without his having concluded.

In the House of Representatives, after the presentation of several resolutions, Mr. Archer reported, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, a bill authorizing the appointment of an assistant Secretary of State. It was read twice, and referred to a Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed. The House then resumed the consideration of the resolution of Mr. Desha, for the reduction of the number of officers of the Army; and Mr. Drayton concluded his speech against it.

The rule of the House devoting Fridays to the transaction of private business, was suspended, and the case of the impeachment of Judge Peck was taken up in a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union Mr. Pettis addressed the Committee in opposition to the measure. A prolonged discussion took place upon the subject. Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts offered an amendment which with a subsequent modification, provided that, in lieu of the resolution of the Committee on the Judicary, a resolution should be reported to the House to the following effect:

Resolved, That although, on the evidence, as it now stands, this House does not approve of the conduct of James H. Peck, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Missouri, in proceeding by attachment against Luke E. Lawless for alleged contempt of Court; but that there is not sufficient evidence to authorize this House to impeach the said Judge for high misdemeanors in office.'

The debate was continued upon the amendment until a late hour; Mr. Storrs, of N. Y. Mr. Burges, Mr. Ellsworth, and Mr. Huntington, severally addressed the Committee. Mr. Burges then rose; but, on motion of Mr. Miller, the Committee rose, and the House, at nearly 7 o'clock, adjourned.

[BY REQUEST.]

To the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Greeting:

DEAR BRETHREN,

The undersigned, the corresponding committee, appointed by the delegates from eleven different States, in General Convention, assembled in the City of Baltimore, November 1828, most respectfully and affectionately request the attention of brethren favorable to the organization of a Methodist representative church government, which shall fully recognize and permanently secure the rights and interests of its ministers and members.

It is known to many, that the Methodist Episcopal Church is governed by laws, made exclusively by the travelling ministers, and that the hundreds of thousands of the lay members, have not the right of suffrage, nor a seat or voice in the legislative councils of the church: a state of things unknown to any other protestant church in the United States.

It is also well known, that many, for a long time have been dissatisfied with this form of church government—and that memorials expressive of their desires for a representation were sent up to the General Conference of 1824.

Those memorials were read in conference—and to the whole of them one answer was made in the form of a circular, in which they said: 'If it is intended, by rights and privileges something foreign from the institutions as we received them from our fathers, pardon us, if we know no such rights if we do not comprehend such privileges.'

In November 1827 a convention met in Baltimore, for the purpose of sending a memorial to the General Conference at Pittsburg, of 1828 praying for an equitable representation, from the local preachers and lay members of the Methodist Episcopal church. In reply to this memorial the General Conference published their celebrated report the substance of which is, that the travelling preachers, by divine right ought to govern the church, and that the laity have no right either natural or acquired, to partake in the enactment of the laws by which they are to be governed.

As a report was expected from the General Conference, provision was made for assembling another convention, to receive, discuss and act upon the report, when it should be received, as circumstances might require. The convention met in November 1828, it was large and respectable. A great majority of the representatives were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The report of the General Conference was read and duly considered. It was collated with the painful facts which had recently transpired, in the proscription, arraignment, and expulsion of a number of the ministers and members of the church for advocating and maintaining the right of the people to be represented in the legislative department of the church. From the whole, it was deemed reasonable to infer, that there was no disposition on the part of the travelling preachers, either at the present or any future time, to concede the right of the church to representation. The convention, therefore, in the fear of God, with a sacred regard to the interest of his church, and under the direction of an approving conscience, considered it necessary to make preparations for founding a Methodist Church, upon such principles as a free government requires—'fixing metes and bounds which shall maintain a separation between each department of power, so that neither of them shall be suffered to overleap the barrier which defends the rights of the people.'

They proceeded, accordingly, to frame a few conventional articles, under which the brethren who had been expelled, and such others as were desirous to promote the cause of christian liberty, might organize and continue their united labours, for the common cause, until the next convention, which will meet on the second Tuesday of November next, 1830.

With intention to afford every possible facility to the friends of reform in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the convention appointed a corresponding committee, to interchange views with any who may wish to examine the subject and co-operate with them in this great work.

Moreover, to prevent the evils which might have been produced by any precipitate measure of so much importance, they appointed a committee to prepare a constitution and book of discipline, to be submitted to the convention at its intended meeting in November next.

These arrangements have succeeded, beyond our most sanguine expectations—and it will be gratifying to the friends of an equitable church government, to learn, that some hundreds of ministers and thousands of members, have been organized, embodying a large portion of piety the most unequivocal, and talents respectable and commanding—affording satisfactory proof that when the object of our labours is understood, it will be appreciated by the people: that they will approve the doctrines of self government and cleave to a representative system with persevering firmness and integrity.

Already there are seven conferences formed in as many states. Already there are nearly one hundred travelling preachers in the field. The good work of turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, has commenced, and is gloriously progressing.

Under a sense of duty to the Great Head of the church, 'who has commanded us to call no man master,' and who has said 'all ye are brethren;' and feeling a becoming affection and regard for your present and future well being and comfort, we make this communication, hoping that wheresoever it may come, brethren will be found possessing sufficient Christain magnanimity to take the subject of a free government into due consideration, unite themselves under the conventional articles, and prepare to send up their representatives to the convention.—Any station, circuit or district, may thus partake in the adoption of the fundamental laws by which they shall afterwards be governed.

It is expected, that the convention will be kept in affectionate remembrance in the hearts of our friends, and when they shall approach the throne of grace, that they will unite with us in prayer to God, that such an instrument may be framed and adopted as shall command the approbation of every sincere lover of our Lord and Savour, Jesus Christ and permanently secure the Christian privileges of unborn millions.

SAMUEL K. JENNINGS,
ALEXANDER M'CAINE,
JOHN J. HARROD.

P. S. The friends of a representative church government, and especially our brethren of the Associated Methodist Churches, are requested to procure the insertion of this communication, in the public prints of their respective neighborhoods. This is the more important, because the adoption of the conventional articles, and a subsequent election, will be considered necessary to insure to the delegates, their seats in the convention. Representatives, therefore, from places not recognized in the former convention, should be furnished with a copy of their resolutions for the adoption of the articles and also a certificate of their election in due form.

S. K. JENNINGS,
A. M'CAINE,
J. J. HARROD,

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