

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

IN SENATE, Monday, January 29, 1833.

Mr. Mangum moved that the further consideration of the bill be postponed to and made the special order of the day for Thursday next, and upon this motion asked the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

The question being taken, it was decided in the affirmative as follows: Yeas—Messrs. Bibb, Black, Brown, Calhoun, King, Mangum, Miller, Moore, Poincoteur, Rives, Smith, Troup, Tyler, Waggoner, White—15.

Nays—Messrs. Benton, Chambers, Clay, Clayton, Dallas, Dickenson, Dudley, Ewing, Forsyth, Foot, Frickelhyusen, Grundy, Henricks, Hill, Holmes, Johnston, Kane, Knight, Prentiss, Robinson, Robinson, Rogers, Seymour, Silsbee, Sprague, Tipton, Tomlinson, Webster, Wilkins, Wright—30.

Mr. Wilkins rose in support of the bill. The position, he said, in which Mr. President, have placed me in relation to this body, imposes on me the duty of introducing its spirit to the Senate, and of explaining its provisions.

It is admitted that the bill points to an efficient state of things in South Carolina. It is not in the contemplation of the committee who reported the bill, to make it assume, in any way an invidious character. The bill was made general and sweeping in its terms and application, as being more delicate in regard to the State concerned—and for the purpose of giving effect to the revenue laws of the Union.

The bill presents three very important and momentous considerations: 1. Is there any thing in the circumstances of the country calling for legislation on the subject of the revenue laws? 2. In the due administration of those laws threatened with impediment? and 3. Is this bill such as to such an emergency? He promised to consider these points but in a desultory manner.

He never shrunk from any moral or political responsibility, but he had no disposition (using the words of the Senator from N. Carolina) to "drum on public sensibility." Neither he, nor the State which he represented, had any influence in bringing up these questions, nor was he prepared to meet the crisis by his votes.

It is time that the principles on which the Union depends, were discussed. It is time that Congress express an opinion upon them. It is time that the People should bring their judgment to bear on this subject, and settle it forever. There were many enlightened men in the country, whose integrity and patriotism no one doubts, who had arrived at conclusions in this matter, very different from his own.

The Senator from S. Carolina knows the respect in which I hold him; but I am unwilling to let his judgment on this question as the guide of mine; and I will not agree that the Union depends on the principles which he has advanced. He has offered a document as a basis on which to be established, then a law is interposed between the powers of the Government and the acts of South Carolina.

The bill is of great importance; not on account of its particular provisions, but on account of its rapidly approaching crisis, which they are intended to meet. That crisis was not in the control of this body, nor of any branch of the Government. He would ask the Senator from Mississippi what he would do if his authority in saying that the passage of any bill reducing the tariff would avert the enforcement of the Ordinance of South Carolina? He was unwilling to consider the bill as the representative of the United States authority and sovereignty claimed by the State of South Carolina.

He would now present to the Senate a view of the position in which S. Carolina had placed herself, in order to justify the committee in reporting the bill under consideration. It was not, sir, for the purpose of establishing a military despotism, nor of a single armed despot, nor of a single man, but of the Carolina military bands to cut the throats of women and children, that the committee framed the bill.

If any thing can ever establish a military despotism in this country, it is the anarchy and confusion which the principles contended for by the Senator from South Carolina will produce. If we keep together, not ten years, nor ten thousands of years will ever bring the country under the dominion of military despotism. But adopt the principles of South Carolina, break the union into fragments, some chieftain may bring the fragments together—but it will be under a military despotism. He would not say that South Carolina contemplated this result, but he did say that her principles would lead to it. South Carolina is not being able longer to bear the burden of an oppressive law, had determined on resistance.

The excitement raised in the State, gave to the party a majority in the legislature of the State, and a Convention was called, under the provisions of the State Constitution, authorizing its amendment. The Convention met and passed what is called the Ordinance, establishing new and fundamental principles. Without repeating it, he would call the attention of the Senate to some few of its provisions. It overrode the whole revenue system. It was not limited to the acts of 1828 and 1832, but ended with a solemn declaration that, in that State, no taxes should be collected. The admission of the convention to the people of the United States and of the State of South Carolina used a tone and language not to be misunderstood. They tell you it is necessary for some one State to bring the question to a close—that Carolina will do it—that Carolina had thrown herself into the breach, and would stand foremost in resistance to the laws of the Union—and they solemnly call upon the citizens of the State to stand by the principles of the Ordinance, for it is determined that no taxes shall be collected in that State. The Ordinance gives the Legislature the power to carry into execution this determination. It contains within itself no seeds of dissolution—it is unlimited as to time; contains no restrictions as to application; provides no means for its amendment, modification or repeal. In their private, individual capacity, some members of the convention held out the idea which had been advanced by some members of the House, that if the tariff law was made less oppressive, the ordinance would not be enforced.

Mr. Poincoteur here remarked, that he said in his new tariff law, even if more oppressive than the law of 1832, were passed, the ordinance would not apply to it.

If the terms of the ordinance are considered, continued Mr. W., there is no possible mode of averting it; so sure as time rolls on, and four days pass over our heads, the ordinance and the laws emanating from it will lead to the employment of physical force, by the citizens of South Carolina, against the enforcement of the revenue laws. Although many of the most influential citizens of Carolina protest against the idea that any but moral

force would be resorted to, yet the excitement and determined spirit of the people would, in his opinion, lead speedily to the employment of physical force. He did not doubt that the Senator from South Carolina abhorred the idea of force; no doubt his excellent heart would bleed at the scene which it would produce—but he would refer to the third paragraph of the Ordinance (which he here read) to prove that it was the intention of its framers to resort to force.

Does the shadow follow the sun? Even so surely will force follow the attempt to disobey the laws of S. Carolina. Force must inevitably be used in case any attempt is made by the Federal Government to enforce the acts which have been declared null and void.

Mr. Calhoun: It is not intended to use any force, except against force. We shall not stop the proceedings of the U. States Courts, but maintain the authority of our own judiciary.

Mr. Wilkins: How can the ordinance refer to any laws of the United States, when they are excluded from any operation within the limits of the State? Why do the laws and ordinance of South Carolina shut out the United States Courts from appellate jurisdiction? why do they shut the doors of the State Courts against any inquiry from the United States Courts? They intend that there shall be no jurisdiction over this subject, except through their own courts. They cut off the federal judiciary from all authority in that State, and bring back the state of things that existed prior to the formation of the federal constitution.

Here nullification is disclaimed, on one hand, unless we abolish our revenue system. We consent to do this they remain quiet. But if we go a hair's breadth towards enforcing that system, they present secession. We have secession on one hand and nullification on the other. The Senator from South Carolina admitted the other day that no such thing as constitutional secession could exist. Then civil war, disunion, and anarchy must accompany secession. No one denies the right of revolution. That is a natural, indefeasible right—a right which we have exercised and held out by our example, to the civilized world. Who denies it? Then we have revolution by force, not constitutional secession. That violence must come by secession is certain. Another law passed by the legislature of S. Carolina, is entitled a bill to provide for the safety of the people of South Carolina. It advises them to put on their armour. It puts them in military array; and for what purpose but the use of force? The provisions of these laws are infinitely worse than those of the federal system, so far as they apply to the citizens of Carolina. But with its operations on their own citizens, he had nothing to do. Resistance was just as sensible at various points on the day on the calendar. In addition to these documents, what did rumour say? Rumour, which often falsifies, but sometimes utters truth. If we judge by newspaper and other reports, more men were now ready to take up arms in Carolina than there were during the revolutionary struggle.

The whole state was at this moment in a state of arms, and it was ready to be embellied the moment any attempt was made to enforce the revenue laws. The city of Charleston wore the appearance of a military depot. As a further proof of the necessity of this bill, he would read a printed paper which might pass for what it was worth.

Mr. Calhoun: What paper is it? Has it a signature?

Mr. Wilkins: It is a circular, but not signed. Mr. Wilkins then read what appeared to be a circular, in which he stated that the munitions of war and army supplies in South Carolina, and the establishment of depots for the sale of various points on the roads leading to Charleston, &c.

Mr. Wilkins, after some further remarks, the object of which was to show that South Carolina had put herself in an attitude of hostility towards the General Government, which rendered the bill under consideration necessary, gave way, without concluding, to a motion to adjourn—which prevailed.

IN SENATE.

TUESDAY, JAN. 29, 1833.

SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY.

The Senate then proceeded to the special order of the day, being the bill to make further provisions for the collection of her duties on imports.

Mr. Wilkins (Chairman of the Judiciary Committee) resumed his opening speech on the bill, before reporting which, his remarks on Monday (omitted in our issue from want of time) in the following brief sketch.

Adverting to another circumstance, as tending to show the excitement prevailing in South Carolina against the General Government—he said, that in every part of the State, the blue cockade, with the Palmetto button, was generally worn. That bit of ribbon, and the button, were no trifling signs of the military spirit prevalent among the people.

It seemed to him, indeed, from all these facts, known to us, officially and by rumour, that it was impossible to avoid a collision with Carolina, while her Ordinance remained in force, and that those gentlemen who represented that the passage of my bill by us would defeat the Ordinance, and prevent a collision, had mistaken the sense of the Ordinance, and the intention of the people of South Carolina.

Mr. Miller here interposed, and said he had not expressed the opinion that nullification would be abandoned upon the passage of a bill of any character in reference to the tariff. If Congress passed a bill altering the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832, he was of opinion that such a bill would set aside the Ordinance, which was specific in its application to the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832. Even if a bill more oppressive than the existing acts should pass, the Ordinance now existing would thereby be defeated, and South Carolina would be under the necessity of assembling another Convention, and passing another Ordinance.

Mr. Wilkins found he said, that he was not far from right. What prospect then was there of an abandonment by South Carolina, of her present position? She offers us but two modes of adjusting the matter in dispute.

The first is by the total abandonment of the protective system; by the admission of the whole list of protected articles free of all duty, and raising the whole revenue, derived from duties on imports, exclusively, from the unprotected articles. The consequences of the adoption of this policy would be most fatal and disastrous to the industry of the Northern

States. It would put the laboring classes of Pennsylvania on a footing with the paupers of the old world. It would prostrate at once and forever the policy which Pennsylvania had long cherished, which South Carolina had united with her in establishing and maintaining, and under which she was prosperous and happy. The admirable speech made by the Senator from South Carolina, in 1816, in favor of the protective policy, was engraved on the hearts of the people of Pennsylvania, in the dwellings of the farmer, the mechanic, and the manufacturer, it hung upon the wall, by the side of Washington's Farewell Address. He well remembered that speech, for it had a powerful influence on his own mind in relation to the policy of the protective system.

Mr. Calhoun here said, I thank the gentleman for alluding to that speech. It has been much and very often misrepresented, and I shall take an early opportunity to explain it.

Mr. Wilkins: I shall be happy to witness the exhibition of the Senator's ingenuity in explaining the speech in such a manner as to make it accord with his present views. I should not have alluded to it, had not the Senator remarked upon it, in his bill from our Committee, a bill of abominations.

Mr. Calhoun: It requires no apology. Mr. Wilkins proceeded to state the considerations which rendered a compliance with the terms proposed by South Carolina improbable, if not impossible. For his own part, he was free to say that he could not bring his mind to assent to a destructive measure. He spoke only for himself. What were the views of others of this body on this subject, he did not know, for he was not in the habit of making inquiries as to the opinions of others on such topics. Much as he loved the Union—much as he deprecated any collision between the State and Federal Governments, much as he was disposed to respect the opinions and wishes of a sister State, he would not assent to a total destruction, even of incidental protection to our domestic industry. He would, however, go far, very far, even to the sacrifice of much of that protection which we claim as just and necessary; but to the point proposed by South Carolina as her ultimatum, he could not go.

He did not believe that there was any probability of the assent, on the part of Congress, to the first proposition of South Carolina. There was but one other proposition made by South Carolina for the adjustment of this controversy, and that was even less hopeful than the former; it was by the call of a general convention of the States, and the submission to them of an ultimate arbitration on the disputed powers. Mr. W. was of the opinion that the division of the State representation assembled in convention on the matters in controversy, would not differ from the judgment of the Congress.

He did not think it at all probable that the convention would either alter the constitution in respect to the powers of the government over the subject of revenue, or that the protective laws would be pronounced by them unconstitutional, and null and void. But it was not at all probable that two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of the States would assent to the call of a General Convention. The People were averse to any change in the constitution, and were of opinion that it could not be amended for the better.

For his own part it was his earnest hope, and confident belief, that no change would ever be made in the terms of our admirable compact.

On resuming the floor so-day, Mr. Wilkins embraced the opportunity to state that, on a proper occasion, he should move one or two amendments to the bill, one of which would be to limit some of its provisions to the end of the next session of Congress; the provisions which it contains for amendments to the judicial system, he presumed, there would be no objection to leaving, as they are in the bill, unlimited.

When the Senate adjourned yesterday, Mr. W. continued, I was speaking of the Tariff System—the system for the protection of American industry, which a vast portion of the American people believe to be intimately connected with the prosperity of the country. A justification of the adherence, as far as practicable, to this system, he had had reference to the conduct of gentlemen from the South in regard to it. A few days ago, he now added, Maryland had been considered a Southern State, as she was still a slave-holding State; from the chief city of that State, directly after the meeting of Congress, under the Constitution of 1787, a memorial was transmitted to Congress, reciting the weakness and inefficiency of the old Confederacy, and its inadequacy to protect the manufacturing interests; and rejecting that as a government, possessing all necessary power to protect domestic industry, and praying the interposition of Congress for that purpose. Another incident he mentioned, which, he said, many members would recollect, of a member of Congress from S. C. having, in the year 1809, offered a resolution proposing that all the members of Congress should appear, at the commencement of the next ensuing session, clad entirely in clothing of American manufacture. He had already adverted to the agency of the South in passing the tariff law of 1816, and now, said he, let me make a personal reference, in connection with it, to another gentleman from South Carolina, now a member of this body (Mr. Miller) which reference I make with all possible respect for that gentleman. When the bill of 1816 was under discussion, that gentleman, then a member of the other House made a motion, deeply interesting to Pennsylvania, and for which I, as one of her sons, feel grateful to him, to raise the duties on

hammered bar iron [which the bill proposed to raise from nine to sixteen dollars per ton.] to 20 dollars per ton.— Thus amended, the bill passed the House, but the duty was reduced in the Senate to 16. On the final passage of the bill, including that and other duties, three members only from South Carolina were present, and they all voted for the bill. Strange revolution of opinion! It is now contended by the same gentleman, that a duty of 18 dollars upon the same article, [two dollars below her own proposition,] as fixed by the Tariff of 1832, is so onerous, oppressive, and tyrannical, that the whole country is to be involved in a civil war, if not only that, but every other protective duty be not abolished!

Mr. W. said, he had also spoken, yesterday, in justification of the strongest provisions of this bill, of the talked-of resistance to the laws in South Carolina. He had understood the Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] the other day, as acknowledging that there was military array in South Carolina, but contending that it followed and did not precede the array of force by the United States.

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Mr. Calhoun said he had admitted that there was military preparation, not array.

Mr. Wilkins said, if we examine the measures taken by the Administration in reference to the present crisis, it would be found that they were not at all of that military character to justify the measures of South Carolina which was alleged had followed them.

Mr. Calhoun said that South Carolina was undoubtedly preparing to resist force by force. But, let the United States withdraw its forces from her borders, and lay this bill upon the table, and her preparations would cease.

Mr. Wilkins resumed. That is, sir, if we do not oppose any of her movements, all will be right. If we fold our arms, and exhibit a perfect indifference whether the Laws of the Union are obeyed or not, all will be quiet. This, I admit, would be an admirable mode to avoid collision and prevent disturbance; but is it one that we can submit to? The moment we fail to counteract the Nullification proceedings of South Carolina, the Union is dissolved; for in this government of laws, union is obedience, and obedience is union. The moment South Carolina

Mr. Calhoun—Who relies upon force in this controversy? I have insisted upon it that South Carolina relied altogether on civil process, and that, if the General Government resorts to force, then only will South Carolina rely upon force. If force be introduced by either party, upon that party will fall the responsibility.

Mr. Wilkins—The General Government will not appeal in the first instance, to force. It will appeal to the patriotism of South Carolina, and magnanimity of which she boasts so much.

Mr. Calhoun: I am sorry that South Carolina cannot appeal to the sense of justice of the General Government. Order! Order! (from one or two members.)

Mr. Wilkins—The Government will appeal to that political sense which exerts its influence to the laws of the country, as the first duty of the citizens. I will appeal to the moral force in the community. If the appeal be in vain, it will appeal to the Judiciary. If the mild arm of the Judiciary be not sufficient to execute the laws, it will call on the civil force to sustain the laws. It has been insufficient, God save and protect us from the last resort. But if the evil does come upon the country, who is responsible for it? If force be brought in to the aid of law, who, to the People of the United States? That is the question. Talk of it as you please, mystically matters as you will, theorize as you may, pile up abstract propositions to any extent, at least the question resolves itself into one of obedience or resistance to the laws—in other words, of union or disunion. Wherein, said Mr. W., consists our liberty? What is the foundation of our political institutions which we boast of, which we hold up to the world for imitation, and for the enjoyment of which the votary of freedom pants in every country of the Globe—what is it? I make the laws, and where the People obey the laws which they themselves have made. That is our system of government, and by a large majority of the People it is respected accordingly. Why, Sir, said Mr. W. if you were to carry into effect the ultra doctrine of South Carolina at this moment, repeal your whole protective system, shut up your factories, stop our vessels, extinguish our fires, &c.—may, ruin us by your legislation—yet would the People of Pennsylvania obey the laws, and abide your decision. But then they would appeal to the People. They would endeavor to bring public opinion to act upon Congress, and bear them back into the right course. They would appeal to moral influence, and to that alone.

I know, said Mr. W. that the gentleman from South Carolina cannot anticipate the application of force in the case now presented; but I pray him again, and again, to advert to one particular paragraph of the Ordinance. There were several cases in which the use of force is referred to in the Ordinance, in which Mr. W. admitted the right to use it. If, for example, as in a case supposed, Congress intended to overturn and subvert the State of South Carolina and overturn her liberties, he admitted the right of resistance by force. But, Ordinance declares that force is to be used, and it is in the event of the attempt by the United States to enforce the execution of the Revenue Laws. "Enforce" is the word employed by the Ordinance. For the meaning of Johnson or Webster: the law may be "enforced" by execution, by judicial process, by a simple demand of payment of duties by a United States Officer. It needs not the iron grasp of power, the naked sword, or the fixed

bayonet, to constitute enforcement of the laws. You enforce the laws every day, and every hour of every day, in the most tranquil state of Society. This enforcement of the laws it is which is, after the 1st of February, to be construed into an attempt to put down the people of South Carolina, and to justify the calling of thousands upon thousands of armed men to resist it!

Mr. W. here referred to the Charleston Mercury, which he held in his hands, containing the proceedings of a great meeting held at Charleston, S. C. on the 21st instant, among which were a number of resolutions, adopting the cockade to which he had reference yesterday; intermingled with notices of "Call to arms!" "Attention, volunteers!" &c. and one of these Resolutions (which he read) declares that the persons assembled at this meeting not only affirm the right of the State peaceably to secede from the Union, but are prepared, if need be, to perish their lives in the assertion of this claim, &c. Yes, sir, said Mr. W. if not prevented, secession is at hand; for the very moment that the Marshal of the District calls out the posse comitatus, and heads that posse to enforce a judgment of the Federal Court to compel the payment of duties on imports (after the first of February) then has the contingency occurred of an attempt to enforce the laws which has accession become the alternative.

With regard to secession, Mr. W. went on to cite cases to show the consequences to which the admission of this right in any State would lead, should other States adopt the heresy affirmed by the meeting whose proceedings he had read. This view of the subject he supported by saying, that Nullification, unless merged in revolution, was not to be stopped.

The honorable member had told the House, that laying this bill on the table, and passing the bill depending in the other House, would put a stop to nullification. But what surety was there even in this? After the first of February, Nullification with all its attributes and incidents, was to be in full operation in South Carolina. What would be its political operation? Where would it end? He put this question plainly to the gentleman from South Carolina. A Convention of the States was out of the question; an amendment of the Constitution was out of the question; where was the contest to end? Why, the laws must be suspended. South Carolina, whilst represented on this floor (ably as she is, and he hoped long would be) participating in the making of laws, would be obeying just such of them as she pleased, and no more—cutting and carving with her own sword to suit herself!

What a state of things was this! Mr. Calhoun here said, that South Carolina would be content to maintain this contest upon the principle of protection, paying with effect whatever taxes might be required out objection whatever taxes might be required to be levied for the purposes of revenue.

Mr. Wilkins: If South Carolina appeals to the Federal Judiciary, she can bring up the question of the validity of any part of the revenue laws for decision, by the Federal Courts. Mr. W. had no doubt of the influence of the Senator from South Carolina over the people of that State, but no one had power to say what course the State would take if the suggestion of the Senator should be adopted. We must take this matter as we unfortunately find it. The merchants of Charleston may import goods free of duty, and the merchants of Baltimore, New York, &c. must pay duties. The people of South Carolina are exempt from all taxation, by duties on imports, which is the only taxation known to our laws; and the people of the rest of the Union, are

participates in the benefits, but not in the burdens of the Government. The Ordinance to this effect, South Carolina is pledged to maintain, free ingress and egress into and from her ports. Every stream of water in the limits of the State, accessible from the ocean, is made a free port. Wherever goods are introduced and landed, all obligation to pay the duties vanished before the magical influence of nullification.

The State of South Carolina is quoad the revenue system, out of the Union. As to the Carolina are gone from us. What then is to prevent the goods imported into the State, from being distributed into every part of the interior and along the coast? A legalized system would be introduced, he would not say of smuggling, for he would not impute so profligate a crime to the authorities of that State, but free ports make free goods, and nullification makes free ports. Well, sir, what will prevent the goods from being sent to other States? Take the markets open from the goods, and they may be sent any where. If nullification exempt goods from duties in South Carolina, it exempts them every where. They are marked "State rights," and the vessel called "State sovereignty." They will not be imported under the glorious flag of the United States, but under the flag of South Carolina. South Carolina has not her Ordinance. Now we work practically. It will make general confusion; defeat equality; in public burdens, and denigrate the community.

As nullification is now about to go into full operation, what is to stay the hands of South Carolina, and prevent her from executing her present purpose? He was aware of the wide range of discussion which the questions connected with this subject would lead to. But before Congress for decision. They should decide now in one way or other. They should be stout, said Mr. W. and am willing to see the question tried, and to abide the end of it. The whole question comes to a single point. What is the constitutional relation of a single State to the United States? If the Government league between several distinct and independent sovereignties, from which any one and of our bill—For South Carolina, leaning upon her sovereignty and reserved rights, has exercised the power which she claims of obeying and disobeying a law of the Union, just as she may construe it, to be unconstitutional.

An attempt on his part to throw any additional light on this subject would be as unnecessary as to contribute a drop of water to the ocean. It was enough for him that he had a few well settled principles on this point, which he had already entertained, and which had been acted on from the foundation of the government to the present time. The Constitution was formed by the People. It was adopted by the States, which, like individuals, rendered a portion of their sovereignty for the security of the rest. Those powers which are surrendered, however limited in number, are supreme in extent and application. The Constitution was, as it appeared to him, framed to meet this very case—to meet the case of State nullification—to meet the case of State legislation which attempts to overthrow national legislation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United

States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

This supremacy of power was necessary for the general welfare, because it consists in the use of powers which could not be confided to, nor exercised by, any one State. We always had a Union. The great object of the people, from the period to another, has been to render the Union "more perfect." Virginia took the lead in the last attempt, and her Statesmen were among its foremost champions. Experience had manifested the want of a supreme power to bear immediately upon the people of the States. The laws of the Old Confederation bore on the States alone. Hence the Constitution begins, "We, the People;" and the conclusion of the 8th section of the 1st article, giving power to Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof;" and the emphatic conclusion declaring such laws to be the supreme law of the land, in the aggregate sense of the term.

We owe allegiance both to the United States and to the State of which we are citizens. Are there, sir, any citizens who owe no allegiance to the United States? Have the People of South Carolina abandoned the proud title of citizens of the United States? Is the General Government any power or quality of political sovereignty at all? If it has, that power must be brought to bear directly upon the People of the States, and of each State.

The Government of the United States forms a part of the Government of each State, enters into it, and supplies whatever may be wanting for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof; and the emphatic conclusion declaring such laws to be the supreme law of the land, in the aggregate sense of the term.

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