

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED EVERY
TUESDAY & SATURDAY MORNING,
(during the Session of Congress.)
and every **TUESDAY MORNING,** the residue of the year—
EDWARD MULLIKIN,
PUBLISHER OF THE LAWS OF THE UNION.

THE TERMS
Are **THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM,**
payable half yearly in advance.
No subscription discontinued until all arrears are settled, without the approbation of the publisher.
ADVERTISEMENTS not exceeding a square, inserted **THREE TIMES FOR ONE DOLLAR,** and twenty five cents for each subsequent insertion—larger advertisements in proportion.

JOHN MCONERIN,
CABINET MAKER,
RESPECTFULLY informs his customers
of his **SPRING STOCK OF MATERIALS** in his line, which he is prepared to manufacture at the shortest notice, into furniture of all descriptions, which he will warrant will be as good, and will be sold as low, as they can be had in Baltimore, or elsewhere. He purchased in Baltimore, at his Ware House, where he has now on hand some **MAHOAGNY SIDEBOARDS, BUREAUS, TABLES, BEDSTEADS, &c.** which he will dispose of very low.
He earnestly requests those of his friends whose accounts have been long standing, to call without delay and settle, as they must know it is impossible for him to carry on his business to advantage, without, at least, a little Cash.
J. M. would also acquaint the Public that he has in his employ a first rate Turner, who will execute any business in his line with neatness and despatch. Old Chairs repaired at the shortest notice.
Two apprentices of good moral habits from 14 to 16 years of age, will be taken to learn the above business.
Feb 26

A CARD.
A WOOLFOLK wishes to inform the owners of negroes, in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, that he is not dead, as has been artfully represented by his opponents, but that he still lives, to give them CASH and the highest prices for their Negroes. Persons having Negroes to dispose of, will please give him a chance, by addressing him at Baltimore, and where immediate attention will be paid to their wishes.
K. B. All papers that have copied my former Advertisement, will copy, and discontinue the others.
Oct 9

ADVENTURERS ATTEND!
HURRA FOR SYLVESTER!
On last Thursday, we had the pleasure of selling to one of our patrons, (a gentleman of Baltimore) the Capital Prize of
5,000 DOLLARS,
In the Delaware and North Carolina Lottery, Class No. 6.
AGAIN TRIUMPHANT!
In the Grand Consolidated Lottery, Class No. 5—Drawn one week since, we sold the Capital Prize of
3,389 DOLLARS,
To a Gentleman in Pennsylvania.
Also, in the New York Consolidated Lottery, Class No. 3, drawn Feb. 6th, we sold Combination 14 32 56 \$1000
" 14 31 61 \$1000
Making 4 Grand Capital Prizes sold in the course of two weeks.
NEW YORK LOTTERY,
Class No. 5.—to be drawn April 8d, 1833.—Sixty six number Lottery, 10 drawn ballots.
SPENDING CAPITALS
\$40,000, 10,000, 5,100, 3,000, 2 of 1,000, &c.
Tickets \$10. Lowest prize \$12.
MARYLAND STATE LOTTERY,
Class No. 6.—to be drawn at Baltimore, on Saturday, March 30, 1833.
\$20,000, Highest Prize.
20,000, 6,000, 2,500, 1,270, 10 of 1,000, 100, of 500, &c.
Tickets \$5, shares in proportion.
Orders from any part of the U. States will receive the same attention as on personal application. When \$10 and upwards are remitted, postage need not be paid.
SYLVESTER is regularly licensed by the several States in which he has offices, (at New York, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Nashville, and New Orleans) thus his tickets issued from his office are genuine and guaranteed by the Managers.
*For capital prizes, orders from the country must be addressed to
S. J. SYLVESTER,
Baltimore, Md.
mar 2

For Annapolis and Easton.
The Steam Boat **MA-BAYMOND** will leave Baltimore on Friday morning the 1st March, at seven o'clock, from the lower end Dugan's wharf, for Annapolis and Easton, by Castle Haven, and return next day, leaving Easton at seven o'clock, for Castle Haven and Annapolis.
She will make a trip once a week to the Eastern Shore, until further notice.
N. B. All baggage at the risk of the owner or owners.
LEML' G. TAYLOR,
P. S. Monday at seven o'clock for Annapolis Feb 26

SHANNONDALE
This full blood horse, being in fine stud condition, will stand in Talbot county the ensuing season, which will commence on Tuesday, 26th of March, instant, on which day he will be in Easton.
—TERMS—
\$6 the Spring's chance; \$12 to ensure; and \$3 the single leap.
Particulars will be given in future advertisements.
JAMES BARTLETT,
March 16

WANTED,
AN APPRENTICE to the Saddlery and Harness making business—a youth between the age of 14 and 16 would be preferred—he must be of good character, steady and industrious. Apply to
W. M. W. HIGGINS,
Feb 26

Easton and Baltimore Packet.
THE subscriber, grateful for the numerous and continued favours of a generous public, begs leave to inform them, generally, and his friends and customers in particular, that his
PACKET SCHOONER
WRIGHTSON,
GEORGE W. PARROTT, Master.

being now in complete order, will commence her regular trips between Easton and Baltimore on **WEDNESDAY NEXT, 13th** instant, leaving Easton Point, at 9 o'clock in the morning. Returning, she will leave Baltimore on the following **SATURDAY,** at the same hour; and will continue sailing on the above days, regularly, throughout the season. Strict attention will, as heretofore, be given to all orders. Freight intended for this packet, will be at all times received at the subscriber's granary at Easton Point.
Passengers can be comfortably accommodated.
The public's obedient servant,
SAMUEL H. BENNY.
N. B. The death of Capt. Thos. P. Townsend, who was so advantageously known as packet master for the last two years, has made it necessary to appoint another for this schooner. The selection I have made, it is hoped will give perfect satisfaction to the numerous patrons of this line. In the ability and integrity of Mr. Parrott, I have the most unlimited confidence; and I think it will only be necessary for my friends to continue their liberal support, to enable Captain Parrott to prove this confidence is not misplaced.
Easton, March 9th, 1833. **S. H. B.**

CANTON SPECULATOR.
THE well known horse **CANTON SPECULATOR,** was sired by old Canton, his dam by the much admired horse Speculator, whose colts have been so much celebrated for their superior qualities both for saddle and harness. Canton Speculator is now in first rate condition and will be sent down the Bay side, on the 26th inst., from thence down the Bay side, and through Miles River and Goldsboroough's Neck, on his return the first week. He will then proceed through Wya and round by Hillsborough and Kings Creek, down to the Trappe, the second week, and so on during the season, being at Easton every other Tuesday, and at the Trappe and St. Michaels every other Saturday alternately. The terms will be one barrel of merchantable mare Spring's Chance, two barrels to ensure a mare in foal, half a barrel or one dollar and fifty cents the single leap, or one dollar and fifty cents the month of November next, to the following persons who are authorized to receive the same, to wit—For the Bayside district, James McDaniel and Thomas D. Singleton; for the Chapel district, James McDaniel and Son; for the Easton district, Samuel H. Benny; and for the Trappe district, James Chaplain or the Subscriber. Season to commence on the 26th March, and end on the 20th of June.
CHARLES M. BROMWELL,
Oxford, March 20th, 1833—mar 23

INDEPENDENCE.
THE excellent young Jack **INDEPENDENCE,** raised in Kentucky, by the gentlemen who raised the fine mules owned by Edward N. Hambleton, Esq. and of the same stock, will stand the ensuing season, at the Chapel, on every other Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, and at the Subscriber's farm, the remainder of the time. Being young he will be limited to 20 mares.
—TERMS—
Seven dollars the Season, to be discharged by five, if paid by the 25th October. Insurance \$10, but \$8 will be received in full, if paid by the 1st of April 1834. Insurance can only be made by special contract with the subscriber. Twenty five cents to the groom in each case.
EDWARD H. NABB,
Chapel, Talbot county, }
March, 1833. } mar 23

NOTICE.
WAS committed to the jail of Frederick county, on the 21st day of February, 1833, a negro woman who calls herself **JANE ANDERSON,** charged with being a runaway, but says she is free and that she was last from Washington county. She is about 40 years of age, 5 feet 5 inches high, and of large stature. Had on, when committed, a coarse blue lined livery frock, and old shoes and stockings. The owner, if any, is hereby directed to come forward and have her released, she will otherwise be discharged according to law.
M. E. BARTGIS,
Sheriff of Frederick County.
March 15—23 81

NOTICE.
WAS committed to the jail of Frederick county, on the 16th day of February, 1833, a negro man who calls himself **DENNIS MILES,** who says he was sold to a negro trader about seven years ago, by Henry Mankin, of Suffolk, Virginia, from whom he ran away. He is of a dark complexion; is about 35 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, and slender make.—no perceptible marks.
The owner of the said negro is requested to come and have him released, he will otherwise be discharged according to law.
M. E. BARTGIS,
Sheriff of Frederick County.
March 15—23 81

NOTICE.
WAS committed to the jail of Frederick county, on the 26th day of February, 1833, as a Runaway, a negro woman who calls herself **REBECEY SMITH,** and says she is free and came from Pennsylvania; had on when committed, a blue cotton frock, sun bonnet, coarse shoes and stockings. She is about thirty years of age, five feet six inches high.
The owner if any, is requested to come and have her released, she will otherwise be discharged according to law.
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Sheriff of Frederick County.
March 15—23 81

General Agricultural & Horticultural Establishment.

COMPRISING a Seed and Implement Store, a General Agricultural Agency, and the Office of the **AMERICAN FARMER,** at No. 16, S. Calvert St. Baltimore, in connection with a Stock and Experimental Farm, Garden and Nursery, in the vicinity.
The subscriber, proprietor of the above named establishment, respectfully informs farmers, gardeners, and the public generally, and dealers particularly, that he is prepared to execute orders in any or all of his departments; and he solicits those who feel interested in his plan to furnish him with their address, (free of expense to him) on receipt of which he will forward to them an extra number of his paper the **American Farmer,** containing a full description of his establishment, and a priced catalogue of Seeds, &c. for sale. In every copy of the **AMERICAN FARMER,** would find a ready and profitable sale, and the advertiser has prepared his Seed Store specially with a view to supply dealers on very liberal terms, for cash or acceptance in Baltimore, with first rate seeds, prepared and labeled, put up in boxes expressly for country dealers. He ventures to affirm, that for those who desire any of the articles comprised in his extensive establishment, there is not in the United States a more eligible place than this to apply for them, as it is a repository in which the seeds are concentrated, or may be prepared in shops, from parts of the country (and not a few miles, many of which are very far and valuable of seeds, plants, trees, roots, vines, domestic animals, books, implements and land, though not a constant fund of timely and important information on almost every subject interesting to a cultivator of the soil. This is a most important cue to subscribers for a small annual contribution, through the columns of the **American Farmer,** in which are indicated, by an advertisement and otherwise, the supplies of choice commodities, both animal and vegetable, as they are received at the establishment. The subscriber is agent also for the principal nurseries and gardeners in the Union; and for several celebrated breeders of fine cattle, sheep, and other domestic animals; also for the United States Society of Sakers, at New Lebanon, N. Y. A full assortment of those celebrated garden seeds, fruit and genuine, may at all times be had from the wholesale and retail, on the best terms. Address
I. IRVINE HITCHCOCK,
Baltimore, Md.
dec 11

WAS COMMITTED TO THE JAIL OF BALTIMORE CITY AND COUNTY, on the 12th day of March, 1833, by J. Walsh, Esq. a Justice of the Peace, in and for the city of Baltimore, a negro man who calls himself **CHARLES HENRY,** and says he belongs to Francis Middleton, of Charles county, near Port Tobacco. Said negro is about 22 years of age, 5 feet 3 inches high, well made; has a lump on the right side of his throat, large scar on his breast, caused by a burn, severe over the eye, caused by a fall from a blue cloth roundabout, when committed, a blue cloth roundabout, low and red striped vest, blue chesnut pantaloons, coarse shoes and seal-skin cap. The owner of the above described negro is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges and take him away, otherwise he will be discharged according to law.
D. W. HUSON, Warden
of Balt. City and County Jail.
mar 23—30

WAS COMMITTED TO THE JAIL OF BALTIMORE CITY AND COUNTY, on the 14th day of March, 1833, by H. W. Gray, Esq. a Justice of the Peace, in and for the city of Baltimore, a colored man who calls himself **JOHN PLUMMER,** alias **W. M. JOHNSON,** and says he belongs to Thomas Blackwell, in Northumberland Co., Virginia. Said colored man is about 23 years old 5 feet 8 inches high, has 3 small scars on his forehead, caused by a block on board of a vessel, flat nose, very thick lips, about chesnut color; had on when committed a light corduroy roundabout, blue cotton work trousers, linen shirt with blue collar and breast, blue, red and white Scotch cap, and coarse boots.
The owner of the above described negro is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and take him away, otherwise he will be discharged according to law.
D. W. HUSON, Warden
of Baltimore city and county Jail.
mar 23—30

SHERIFF'S SALE.
BY virtue of a venditioni exponas issued out of Talbot county Court and to me directed and delivered, by the Clerk thereof, against Joseph H. Sands and John Sands, at the suit of William Baker, will be sold on **TUESDAY,** the 9th day of April next, at the front door of the Court House, in the town of Easton, for cash, between the hours of 10 o'clock, A. M. and 5 o'clock P. M. of said day; all the right, title, interest, claim and estate, of all kinds, and in and to a farm or plantation, lying and being situated in the Chapel district, Talbot county, on which William Peckham now resides, and known as part of Collin Spiby, and part of other tracts, containing three hundred and twenty five acres of land, more or less—Seized and taken as the lands and tenements of the aforesaid Joseph H. Sands and John Sands, and will be sold to pay and satisfy the aforesaid venditioni exponas, and the interest and cost due and to become due thereon.
Attendance by
J. M. FAULKNER, Shf.
mar 16

CONSTABLE'S SALE.
BY virtue of two writs of Fieri Facias, to me directed, by Thomas C. Nicols, Esq., one at the instance and for the use of John I. Kerr, Executor of Rachel L. Kerr, deceased, and the other at the instance and for the use of Robert H. Rhodes, administrator of James Cain deceased, will be sold at the front door of the Court House, in the town of Easton on **TUESDAY,** the 3d day of April next, between the hours of 10 o'clock, A. M. and 4 o'clock P. M. all the right and title of Andrew Cheezum of, in, and to, a PART OF A TRACT OF LAND, called **Pitt's Range,** containing 35 acres, more or less, situate, lying and being in Talbot county, near the Hole in the wall, whereon the said Andrew Cheezum now resides, together with all and singular the improvements and appurtenances thereto belonging, and together with the interest and costs due and to become due thereon.
WM. BARNETT, Constable.
mar 9 3w

IN SENATE,
Friday February 16, 1833.
SPEECH OF MR. WEBSTER of Mass IN REPLY TO MR. CALHOUN'S SPEECH,
On the bill "further to provide for the COLLECTION OF DUTIES ON IMPORTS."

Mr. President, if we are to receive the constitution as the text, and then to lay down, in its margin the contradictory commentaries which have been, and which may be, made by different States, the whole page would be a polyglot indeed. It would speak with as many tongues as the builders of Babel, and in dialects as much confused, and mutually as unintelligible. The very instance now before us presents a practical illustration.—The law of the last session is declared unconstitutional in South Carolina, and obedience to it is refused. In other States it is admitted to be strictly constitutional. You walk over the limit of its authority, therefore, when you pass a State line. On one side, it is law; on the other side, nullity; and yet it is passed by a common Government, having the same authority in all the States.

Such, sir, are the inevitable results of this doctrine. Beginning with the original error, that the constitution of the United States is nothing but a compact between sovereign States; asserting, in the next step, that each State has a right to be its own sole judge of the extent of its own obligations, and of the force of the constitutional law of laws of Congress; and, in the next, that it may oppose whatever it sees fit to declare unconstitutional, and that it decides for itself on the mode and measure of redress, the argument arrives at once at the conclusion that what a State deems from, it may nullify; what it opposes, it may oppose by force; what it decides for itself, it may execute by its own power; and that, in short, it is, itself, supreme over the legislation of Congress, and supreme over the decisions of the national judiciary, supreme over the constitution of the country, supreme over the supreme law of the land. However it seeks to protect itself against these plain inferences, by saying that an unconstitutional law is no law, and that it only opposes such laws as are unconstitutional, yet this does not, in the slightest degree, vary the result; since it insists, on deciding this question for itself, and, in opposition to reason and argument, in opposition to practice and experience, in opposition to the judgment of others, having an equal right to judge, it says only, "Such is my opinion, and my opinion shall be my law, and I will support it by my own strong hand. I denounce the law; I declare it unconstitutional; that is enough; it shall not be executed. Men in arms are ready to resist its execution. An attempt to enforce it shall cover the land with blood. Elsewhere, it may be binding; but here, it is trampled under foot."

This, sir, is practical nullification.—And now, sir, against all these theories and opinions, I maintain—
1. That the constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities; but a Government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals.
2. That no State authority has power to dissolve these relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution.
3. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the constitution of the United States, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties, and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of, and finally interpret, this supreme law, so often as it has occasion to pass acts of legislation, and, in cases capable of assuming, and actually assuming, the character of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final interpreter.
4. That an attempt by a State to abrogate, annul, or nullify an act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the just powers of the General Government, and on the equal rights of other States, a plain violation of the constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency.

Whether the constitution be a compact between States in their sovereign capacities is a question which must be mainly argued from what is contained in the instrument itself. We all agree that it is an instrument clothed with power. We all admit that it speaks with authority. The first question then is, what does it say of itself? What does it purport to be? Does it style itself a league, confederacy, or compact between sovereign States? It is to be remembered, sir, that the constitution began to speak only after its adoption. Until it was ratified by nine States, it was but a proposal, a mere draught of an instrument. It was like a deed drawn, but not executed. The convention had framed it, sent it to Congress, had transmitted it to the State Legislatures, and by these last it was laid before conventions of the people in the several States. All this while it was inoperative paper. It had received no stamp of authority, no sanction; it spoke no language. But when ratified by the people in their respective conventions, then it had a voice, and spoke authoritatively. Every word in it had then received the sanction of the popular will, and was to be received as the expression of that will.

What the constitution says of itself, therefore, is, as conclusive as what it says on any other point. Does it call itself a compact? Certainly not. It uses the word compact but once, and that is when it declares that the States shall enter into no compact. Does it call itself a league, a confederacy, a subsisting treaty between the States? Certainly not. There is not a particle of such language in all its pages. But it declares itself a constitution. What is a constitution? Certainly not a league, compact, or confederacy, but a fundamental law. That fundamental regulation which determines the manner in which the public authority is to be executed, is what forms the constitution of a state. Those primary rules which concern the body itself, and the very being of the political society, the form of government, and the manner in which power is to be exercised—all, in a word, which

form together the constitution of a state, these are the fundamental laws. This, sir, is the language of the public writers. But do we need to be informed, in this country, what a constitution is? Is it not an idea perfectly familiar, definite, and well settled? We are at no loss to understand what is meant by the constitution of one of the States; and the constitution of the United States speaks of it, itself as being an instrument of the same nature. It says, this constitution shall be the law of the land, any thing in any state constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. And it speaks of itself, too, in plain contradistinction from a confederacy; for it says that all debts contracted, and all engagements entered into by the United States, shall be as valid under this constitution, as under the confederation. It does not say, as valid under this compact, or this league, or this confederation, as under the former confederation, but as valid under this constitution.

This, then, sir, is declared to be a constitution. A constitution is the fundamental law of the state; and this is expressly declared to be the supreme law. It is as if the people had said, "we prescribe this fundamental law," or "this supreme law," for they do say that they establish this constitution, and that it shall be the supreme law. They say that they ordain and establish it. Now, sir, what is the common application of these words? We do not speak of ordaining leagues and compacts. If this was intended to be a compact or league and the states to be parties to it, why was it not so said? Why is there found no one expression in the whole instrument indicating such intent? The old confederation was expressly called a league; and into this league it was declared, that the states, as states, severally entered.—Why was not similar language used in the constitution, if a similar intention had existed? Why was it not said, "the states enter into this new league," or "the states agree to this new compact?" Or, why was it not said, in the language of the gentleman's resolution, that the people of the several states acceded to this compact in their sovereign capacities? What reason is there for supposing that the framers of the constitution rejected expressions appropriate to their own meaning, and adopted others wholly at war with that meaning?

Again, sir, the constitution speaks of that political system which it established as "the government of the United States." Is it not doing strange violence to language to call a league or a compact between sovereign powers a government? The government of a state is that organization in which the political power resides. It is the political being, created by the constitution or fundamental law. The broad and clear difference between a government and a league, or compact, is, that a government is a body politic; it has a will of its own; and it possesses powers and faculties to execute its own purposes. Every compact looks to some power to enforce its stipulations. Even in a compact between sovereign communities, there always exists its ultimate reference to a power to ensure its execution; although, in such case, this power is but the force of one party against the power of another—that is to say, the power of war. But a government executes its decisions by its own supreme authority. Its use of force in compelling obedience to its own enactments, is not war. It contemplates no opposing party, having a right of resistance. It rests on its own power to enforce its own will; and, when it ceases to possess this power, it is no longer a government.

Mr. President, I concur so generally in the very able speech of the gentleman from Virginia, near me, (Mr. Rives) that it is not without diffidence and regret that I venture to differ with him on any point. His opinions, sir, are redolent of the doctrines of a very distinguished school, for which I have the highest regard, of whose style I can say what I also can say of the gentleman's speech, that, while I concur in the results, I must be permitted to hesitate about some of the premises. I do not agree that the constitution is a compact between States in their sovereign capacities. I do not agree that in strictness of language it is a compact, or consent, or agreement; that word, and if the gentlemen prefers that word, or means no more by it than voluntary consent or agreement. The constitution, sir, is not a contract, but the result of a contract; meaning, by contract, no more than assent. Founded on consent, it is a government proper. Adopted by the agreement of the people of the United States, when adopted, it has become a constitution. The people have agreed to make a constitution; but when made, that constitution becomes what its name imports.—It is no longer a mere agreement. Our laws, sir, have their foundation in the agreement, or consent, of the two Houses of Congress. We say, habitually, that one House proposes a bill, and the other agrees to it; but the result of this agreement is not a compact but a law. The law, the statute, is not the agreement; has a something which, when created, has a new character, and acts by its own authority. So the constitution of the United States, founded in or on the consent of the people, may be said to rest on compact or consent; but it is itself not compact, but its result. When a people agree to erect a government, and actually erect it, the thing is done, and the agree-

ment is at an end.—The compact is executed; and the end designed by it attained. Henceforth, the fruit of the agreement exists, but the agreement itself is merged in its own accomplishment; since there can be no longer a subsisting agreement, or compact, to form a constitution or government, after that constitution or government has been actually formed and established.

It appears to me, Mr. President, that the plainest account of the establishment of this Government presents the most just and philosophical view of its foundation. The people of the several States had their separate State Governments; and between the States there also existed a confederation. With this condition of things the people were not satisfied as the confederation had been found not to fulfil its intended objects. It was proposed, therefore, to erect a new, common Government, which should possess certain definite powers, such as regarded the prosperity of the people of all the States; and to be formed upon the general model of American constitutions.—This proposal was assented to, and an instrument was presented to the people of the several states for their consideration. They executed that agreement, they adopted the constitution, as a constitution and henceforth it must stand as a constitution until it shall be altogether destroyed. Now, sir, is not this the truth of the whole matter? and is not all we have heard of compact between sovereign States the mere effect of a theoretical and artificial mode of reasoning upon the subject? a mode of reasoning which disregards plain facts, for the sake of hypotheses.

Mr. President, the nature of sovereignty, or sovereign power, has been extensively discussed by gentlemen on this occasion, as it generally is, when the origin of our Government is debated. But I confess myself not entirely satisfied with arguments and illustrations drawn from that topic. The sovereignty of government is an idea belonging to the other side of the Atlantic. No such thing is known in North America. Our Governments are all limited.—In Europe, sovereignty is of feudal origin, and imports no more than the state of the sovereign. It comprises his rights, duties, exemptions, prerogatives, and powers. But, with us, all power is with the people. They, alone, are sovereign; and they erect what Governments they please. None of these Governments is sovereign, in the European sense of the word, all being restrained by written constitutions. It seems to me, therefore, that we only perplex ourselves when we attempt to explain the relations existing between the General Government and the several State Governments, according to those ideas of sovereignty, which prevail under systems essentially different from our own.

But, sir, to return to the constitution itself, let me inquire what it relies upon for its own continuance and support. I hear it often suggested that the States, by refusing to appoint senators and electors, might bring this Government to an end. Perhaps that is true; but the same may be said of the State Governments themselves. Suppose the Legislature of a State, having the power to appoint the Governor and the Judges, should omit that duty, would not the State Government remain unorganized? No doubt, all elective Governments may be broken up, by a general abandonment, on the part of those entrusted with political powers, of their appropriate duties. But one popular Government has, in this respect, as much security as another.—The maintenance of this constitution does not depend on the plighted faith of the States, as States, to support it, and this again shows that it is not a league. It relies on individual duty and obligation.

The constitution of the United States creates direct relations between this Government and individuals. This Government may punish individuals for treason, and all other crimes in the code, when committed against the United States. It has power, also, to tax individuals, in any mode, and to any extent; and it possesses the further power of demanding from individuals military service. Nothing, certainly, can more clearly distinguish a Government from a confederation of States than, the possession of these powers. No closer relations can exist between individuals and any Government.

On the other hand, the Government owes high and solemn duties to every citizen of the country. It is bound to protect him in his most important rights and interests. It makes war for his protection, and no other Government in the country can make war. It makes peace for his protection, and no other Government can make peace. It maintains armies and navies for his defence and security, and no other Government is allowed to maintain them. He goes abroad beneath its flag, and carries over all the earth a national character imparted to him by this Government, and which no other Government can impart. In whatever relates to war, to peace, to commerce, he knows no other Government. All these, sir, are connections as dear and as sacred as can bind individuals to any Government on earth. It is not, therefore, a compact between States, but a Government proper, operating directly upon individuals, yielding to them protection on one hand, and demanding from them obedience on the other.

There is no language in the whole constitution, applicable to a confederation of States. If the States be parties, as States,